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VENICE

Part II, Volume II

COSTUME of the XVI Century adopted by Venetian gentlemen when they did not wear the toga. Detail of Bonifacio de' Pitati's painting, "The Slaughter of the Innocents" *(Venice : the Academy)*

[illegible] of the XVI Century adopted by [illegible] gentlemen when they did not wear the toga. — Detail of Bonifacio de' Pitati's painting, "The Slaughter of the Innocents"

(*Venice: the Academy*)

VENICE

ITS INDIVIDUAL GROWTH FROM THE EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

TRANSLATED BY HORATIO F. BROWN

PART II — THE GOLDEN AGE

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VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

CHAPTER X

SCENIC REPRESENTATIONS — MUMMERIES — TRAGEDY AND COMEDY — THE FIRST PERMANENT THEATRES — MUSIC AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MUSICAL DRAMA

THE stage reached its full development in Venice, as elsewhere, with the renaissance of the classical spirit. The *Ecerinis*, a Latin tragedy written by the Paduan Albertino Mussato during the early years of the Trecento, though vigorous in feeling and sound in art, exercised but little influence on the drama of its time. But humanists did not neglect the study of the ancient theatre, and Plautus was an especial favourite with Ermolao Barbaro, while we find comedies like the *Paulus* of Pietro Paolo Vergerio the elder, who was born at Capodistria in 1349, and lived long in Padua, or tragedies such as the *Progne* of the Venetian Gregorio Correr (b. 1411, d. 1464), an imitation of Terence and of Seneca. The *Progne* was written after the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but was not acted till 1558, and it was given to the world by Lodovico Domenichi as a work of his own.[1] These

[1] Monsignor Gregorio Correr, nephew of Pope Gregory XII, wrote this tragedy about the middle of the fifteenth century. It was published by Paulo Manuzio under the auspices of the *Accademia Veneziana* or *della Fama*, without the author's name; *Progne | tragedia | nunc primumedita | Venezia, presso Paulo Manuzio, 1559*. Two years later a little book was issued at Florence with this title *Progne | tragedia | di | Lodovico Dominichi | in Fiorenza | appresso i Giunti | MDLXI*, in 8vo, with a dedication to

literary plays, however, were written only to be read, and down to the close of the fifteenth century mysteries and miracles in the churches or in the squares of the city, given upon temporary platforms which were the origin of the modern stage, continued to hold their own. These representations, which were both religious ceremonies and theatrical spectacles, beloved of the people, are to be found very early in the Veneto. For example, we hear of the *Passione e Risurrezione di Gesù* given at Padua in 1243, and of the *Annunciazione della Vergine* given at Venice before the Doge in 1267 and described in the Chronicle of Martino da Canal. In 1298 and 1303 we have a mystery on the life of Christ recited at Cividale in Friuli, and at Vicenza in 1379, a sacred play in which the Virgin and the Apostles are introduced.[1] These mystery plays, so popular in many parts of Italy, were not looked upon with favour either by the ecclesiastical or the civil authorities in Venice; and seeing that such spectacles were usually given upon stages elaborately fitted up — *apparatum sumptuosum solariorum* — and were accompanied by jousts, dances, and performances on the tight rope, and gave rise to disorders, — *inhonestates et mala multa committuntur*, — the Republic suppressed them altogether in 1462.[2] On the other hand, a different kind of non-religious

Giannotto Castiglione, dated February 22, 1561, where Domenichi says: "non resterò di pregarla con tutta quella riverenza, ch' io debbo, ch' ella mi faccia gratia d'accettar volentieri questa mia nuova fatica." The absolute identity between Domenichi's tragedy and Correr's has been pointed out by Agostini, *Scrittori veneziani*, I, 108–134. A. Tessier returned to the subject and demonstrated more fully the plagiarism of Domenichi in the article *Intorno a Lodovico Domenichi, plagiario*, in the *Giornale di erudizione* (Vol. I, Nos. 9–12, pp. 10–20. Firenze, 1888). Parabosco's tragedy on the same subject (Venetia, Comin da Trino, 1548), though faithfully following the myth of Progne as given us by Thucydides, Apollodorus, Pausanias, Ovid, has nothing in common with Correr's play as regards plot and style. See Bianchini, *Parabosco*, pp. 180, 181.

[1] D'Ancona, *Orig. del teatro ital.*, I, 87, 91, 92, 98. Torino, 1891.

[2] Ibid., pp. 287 and 343.

performance was in great request. The taste for seeing and hearing episodes of every-day life reproduced by actors who, with the help of grimaces and of grotesque masks, could raise a laugh in the audience, spread from the street to private houses, and here we get the rudimentary comedy called in Venice *momarie*, originally given by masked characters who attended at weddings. At the close of the wedding feast it was the custom to narrate the deeds of the ancestors of the newly wedded pair, accompanying the story with comic amplifications and jests. The word *momaria* has given rise to much conjecture; it implies a masquerade, and corresponds to the French word *mommerie*, according to Jacopo Morelli, who cites the opinion of the learned, especially of Giovachino Perionio, who, in his dialogue *De Linguae Gallicae origine*, says "inter coenam nonnulli intervenire solent ludendi causa, quos nostro sermone *mommous* vocamus. Ita est, atque hoc verbum totum graecum est; *μομμώ* enim larvae appellantur a Graecis."[1] But these Venetian *momarie* were not always mere buffooneries; and we find recorded in 1497 the *Panegirico* for the wedding of one of the Pisani family, where there is a description of *Ludicra spectacula, que Bombariam vulgus appellat*, in which the gods and heroes of mythology were represented. The action was at first limited to a single performer, who was expected to entertain the company by word and gesture, but gradually the idea was expanded and

[1] Morelli, *Pompe nuziali* (in his *Operette*, I, 160). Diez, *Etimologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen*. Berlin, 1878. Körting, *Latein romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891. Körting notes *mummen* (German) and *momer* (Old French) and the modern French *momerie*, but omits the Italian *momaria*, which should be added. We need not go to the Greek *μιμέομαι, μιμοῦμαι*, which means to imitate, whence we get the Italian *mimo, pantomima*; but we have the Greek word *μωμάομαι*, to abuse, to blame, to mock, and *μῶμος*, blame, or mockery, the source of the name of the god Momos. In Venetian dialect we meet with the word *mamo*, meaning foolish, idiotic. Venetian *momarie* were also called *bombarie*, perhaps from the Venetian word *bomba*, in Italian *bubbola* or *baia*; hence the phrase *sbarar de le bombe*, to "tell a buster."

transformed into a complicated spectacle, for the most part in pantomime, with many actors on the stage. Such spectacles still retained the name *momaria*, and had considerable resemblance to the *trionfi*, invented by Lorenzo de' Medici, and to the allegorical shows at Milan, Urbino, and other places; they drew their inspiration from mythology and the springs of primitive art, and also served to display the sumptuous luxury of the Venetians. Beatrice d'Este, wife of Lodovico il Moro, came to Venice in 1493, and in one of her letters has left us a description of a *momaria* given in her honour in the Ducal Palace; the subject was the alliance between the Republic and the Duke of Milan.[1] Two years later, to celebrate the league against Charles VIII, Venice gave other spectacles recorded by Commines, who notices the *grand nombre de mystères et de personnages*.[2] Sanudo describes various *momarie* with his rough yet effective directness. On February 14, 1498, some Florentine merchants then in Venice wished to celebrate the truce between France and Spain and to emphasize their own hopes of recovering Pisa. Bartolomeo Nerli was at their head, and from his house there issued a masquerade thus described by Sanudo: "8 homini a modo cavali marini armati da jostrar, con armadure, et atorno altri zoveni vestidi a uno modo con volti inarzentadi, che li portavano e torzi et lanze et l'elmeto, et con molte campanelle, atorno a questi corevano uno contro l'altro a modo jostra. Poi erano molti vestiti da mori, con casache et volti negri, et uno re o signor armato con alcuni pedoni atorno. Fo assa' torze, et speseno qualche ducato; ma non reuscite chome si credeva, et dirò cussì, fo una zanza (a folly) fiorentina." In

[1] See Appendix, Doc. A, letter III. These letters were published for the first time in the Turin edition of this work (1880), and though republished as unedited by others, we think it well to reproduce them in the Appendix.

[2] *Mémoires*, Lib. VII.

fact, public opinion expressed its contempt for the show in a sonnet which began "Chi fece er sera quella mumaria?" and ends by declaring that never was anything seen *più freda e mal intesa*.[1] On the other hand, we hear of two beautiful *momarie*, — one given on February 19, 1506, in the Campo di Santo Stefano, with twelve waggons which moved in procession round a castle and a great display of fireworks[2]; the other presented, on October 14, 1507, upon a platform erected in the Campo di San Polo. The authors were the Club of the *Eterni*, belonging to the Company of the Hose; the occasion was the marriage of Luca da Lezze with a lady of the Foscarini family, and the subject was Jason in search of the golden fleece.[3] Sanudo cites other spectacles in honour of marriages between the Corner and Malipiero, the Pisani and Priuli (1511), and the Quirini and Mocenigo families.

The staid Germans even admitted the attraction of these shows, which were almost always pantomimic, not dramatic. On February 12, 1520, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi at Rialto, where the German merchants lodged, and where they stored the goods from the Levant that were to be sent to Germany, broke out into dance and song when, in the evening, the bustle of the day's work was over; and a *momaria* was given which attracted numbers of Venetian nobles to the show[4]; and many of these same patricians were expected next day at Ca' Foscari, at San Simeone on the Grand Canal, to attend a festival of which it is reported that *in memoria di homeni vivi la più bella non è stà fatta in questa terra*. Among other shows the Companions of the Hose, of the club called the *Immortali*, gave a *momaria* representing *L'edificazione di Troia*, in which we find a little of everything, — a hydra, a farrow sow, *uno zigante grandissimo con una bissa attorno di*

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, I, 873.
[2] Ibid., VII, 297.
[3] Ibid., VII, 161.
[4] Ibid., XXVIII, 252.

Laochonte, an idol, *uno re con la fiola e perfino un certo diavolo con gran fuogi*. The guests to the number of three hundred and fifty then sat down to supper, and after supper there was a pastoral comedy (*a la villanescha*) written by the Paduan Ruzzante.[1] On July 5, 1524, in this same Foscari Palace and in the presence of the Duke of Urbino, they gave *Il ratto di Elena*.[2]

Possibly these spectacles proved too costly, for the Senate, on January 25, 1526, passed the following order: "Le momarie sì a noze come a compagnie over a altri pasti o feste pubbliche in ogni modo che fusseno facte, siano bandite sotto pena a chi le fesseno far de ducati cinquanta et li maestri le fesseno o guidasseno de ducati 10 et star mesi sei in preson.[3] But in Venice the sumptuary laws were made to be broken even by those who passed them, and so, little less than a month later, as the members of the Council of Ten were descending the giant's staircase into the courtyard of the Ducal Palace, and while the Doge himself was at the window, there streamed into the court "una bellissima momaria di 6 principali che balavano, bellissimi vestidi, con 12 vestidi da Sarasini con torzi in mano et balono alcuni balleti novi che si have gran piacer chi li vete."[4] The very next day, too, in the courtyard of the Palace, in the presence of something like three thousand persons, a band of young nobles dressed like Moors, preceded by minstrels and music, gave another performance. One was dressed in a doctor's scarlet gown, and there were five dancers in *habiti dorati et velli in testa*, who represented Neptune, Spring *con fiori sopra uno corno di dovitia*, Summer with ears of corn, Autumn with clusters of grapes, Winter with fagots of wood. That same year, 1526, for the *fête* of Maundy Thursday a grand *momaria* on the piazza was arranged by *un maistro Tonin, con cose fabulose che fu bel veder et*

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVIII, 253.
[2] Ibid., XXXVI, 459.
[3] Ibid., XL, 752.
[4] Ibid., XL, 785.

dete a piacer a la terra, in spite of the fact that one of the rockets attached to a wire from the Campanile exploded and seriously wounded a priest in the eye, and burned several dresses, among others the magnificent crimson velvet gown of a patrician lady, Quirini Duodo.[1] The following year, on the same day, they gave a spectacle invented by Francesco Cherea, in which four great giants were introduced, and a grotto from which issued men and women dancers, minstrels, twelve troopers armed with partisan and sword, who danced a morris-dance, dancing nymphs, a child dressed like an angel who recited poetry, and a serpent with fire issuing from its jaws. All the same the masque was not a success, and every one remembered with regret the show of the preceding year designed by Master Tonin, who at once received a commission for a new masque on the legend of Perseus and Andromeda, *con balleti et soni mirabili*, and nobles sumptuously dressed, and sea horses and serpents, and so on. On Maundy Thursday, 1528, in the Masque of the Labours of Hercules, Neptune appeared on his tritons, along with Mars, Mercury, and other deities. Hercules entered *con la pelle di lion et la testa in capo*, and went through his twelve Labours *con vari balleti et sacrifizii et morte de Cacho, Zerbero ed altri*. On the same festival, in the year 1529, they gave a show of wild-beast fights, and men and women dancers who had bells on their toes and beat time on an anvil, which opened and let out two children who executed an admirable *pas à deux;* the whole winding up with a kind of tarantella. The masque of the year 1530 roused great expectations; it was entrusted to the famous Tonin, *maestro di ballar vecchio;* but Tonin died just at the moment, and the masque designed by his heirs did not please the public. To conclude, we may quote Sanudo's graphic account of one of these allegorical representations, leaving him to

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, XL, 789, 791.

tell the story in his own vigorous, unadulterated prose. He says:

Per la momaria se dia far in piaza di San Marcho alla illustrissima Signoria el Zuoba de la caza 1532 (1533).

Primo venirà la dea Palas armata con uno scudo et uno libro in mano a caualo de un serpente — Secundo venirà la Justitia a caualo de uno elefante con spada et balanza con una balla — Terzo venirà la Concordia a caualo de una zigogna con uno sceptro in mano con una balla et trarà uno schiopo et vederassi dei zigonati — Quarto venirà la Vitoria a caualo con la spada in man et scuto et uno sceptro con la palma dentro — Quinto venirà la Pace a caualo de uno agnelo con uno sceptro et olive dentro — Sexto venirà la Abundantia a caualo de uno serpe cum la divitia in man con spige et trarà un schiopo et vederasse le spige — All' incontro di la Sapientia venira l'Ignorantia a caualo de un aseno con la coda in mano — La Violentia a caualo de uno serpe la qual seminerà in fra le infrascripte zinzanie — La Guera et Marte sopra uno caualo con spada et scuto — La Penuria a caualo de uno cane con el corno pien de paja.

Poi combaterà:

La Sapientia con l'Ignorantia et la Sapientia cazerà la Ignorantia de monte.

La Justitia con la Violentia, cazerà la Violentia ut supra.

La Concordia con la Discordia, cazerà la Discordia ut supra.

La Vitoria con la Guera videlizet Marte cazerà Marte ut supra.

Saranno el tempio de Jano con trophei et arme de diverse sorte el qual sarà fato con le sue colone et adornato come se richiede et sarà aperto.

Sarà el tempio di la Pace adornato con el so ydolo et sarà serato.

Da poi anderà le soprascrite 6 a serar el tempio de Jano et aprir quelo di la Pace.

Da poi combaterano l'Abundantia con la Penuria et la Abundantia cazerà la Penuria di là dal monte.

Da poi se reduirà tutte 6 insieme et farano balli de più sorte et sarà fine.[1]

The rude phrases of the Chronicler conjure up for us a vision of the marvellous Piazza, with its joyous throng; the ducal tribune hung with arras and rich carpets, where sits his Serenity, Andrea Gritti, a noble and dignified presence, *fra veneti cittadini del età sua, il più venusto ripulato*, as Niccolò Barbarigo says of him; about the Doge are the Signoria, the Council, the officers of State, and the fair ladies who live again for us on the canvases of Titian or of Jacopo Palma. And Titian and Palma and Pordenone and Bonifacio and Paris Bordon and Tintoretto were all living at that date, and maybe one or other of these immortal masters designed the costumes for the masque.

It might, perhaps, be supposed that this kind of representation never passed beyond the borders of the lagoon, but as a matter of fact we know that masques were given at Constantinople. Sanudo quotes a letter, dated February 14, 1524, written by Messer Carlo Zeno, vice-bailo at Constantinople, to Messer Jacopo Cornaro. Zeno is describing the *fêtes* given by the Tuscan and Venetian residents during the Carnival of 1524, and mentions among other curious details the following scheme of a masque: "Una giovane pomposissimamente vestita, accompagnata da do vecchi e da do pastori richissimamente vestiti, et quivi incominzorono a cantare in quarto una certa lamentation per la qual parea che la giovine se lamentasse delli sui vecchi che teniva consumando la età sua, et che la dubitava che senza che li gustasse li piaceri del mondo, la morte l'havesse a pigliare. Comenzò poi a ballare,

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, LVII, 531.

et con gesti mostravano il medemo, et nel fin del ballo, si apresentò una morte la qual tirando con la falze nel megio del ballo, cascò alla giovinetta tutti li vestimenti et li sui capelli d'oro et rimase morta ignuda." [1]

While spectacles such as these stirred the imagination of the dwellers in the lagoons and educated the sense of colour which was always alive among the Venetians, preparing the way for the art of stage mounting and the skill of theatrical mechanicians, at Florence, in 1488, we find them giving the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, while in Rome Giulio Pomponio Leto, between 1478 and 1492, introduced the habit of reciting ancient comedies and tragedies in the halls and courtyards of the great Roman palaces. At Venice, too, halls and courtyards gradually came to be used for the recitation of Terence or Plautus in the original, and of tragedies and comedies imitated from the antique and written either in Latin or in Italian; they were given on stages which already began to display the characteristics of the modern theatre, — the curtain, the *frontispizio*, the scenes representing streets, churches, houses.[2] But such arrangements were not adopted in Venice earlier than the opening of the Cinquecento, for a decree of December 29, 1509, declares that these spectacles "a paucissimo tempore citra, apparet introductum in hac civitate." [3] It was the Companions of the Hose who first introduced the representation of comedies, *che in Venetia non si costumavano*, full of *uno honesto ridere*, acted by the members of the club, "con

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, XXXVI, 119.

[2] D'Ancona, op. cit., II, 382, 514. An illustration to an edition of Terence printed at Lyons in 1493 gives us curious view of one of these temporary theatres in the Quattrocento. On a pentagonal basis adorned with cupids and friezes, and with three arched doorways (*fornices*), rises the theatre proper (*theatrum*), with columns supporting the roof. The spectators are seated in three tiers before the stage (*proscenium*), and to one side, in a box apart, are two personages, named *aediles*, who have the right to a separate box.

[3] Ibid., II, 113.

gratioso modo, et li intermedi erano similamente fati da loro di perfete musiche belle e piacevoli."[1]

The drama, presented in its new guise, at once found favour with the temper of the city, and about 1506 Fra Giovanni Armonio of the order of the Crociferi, a native of the Abruzzi, comedian, actor, and musician, fitted up the atrium of the Convent of the Eremitani at Santo Stefano, and gave one of his comedies, published under this title, "Iohannis Harmonii Marsi comoedia 'Stephanium' urbis Venetae genio publice recitata."[2] The play is dedicated to Pietro Pasqualigo, a great patron of poets. In 1507 we find notice of a comedy acted in the house of Queen Cornaro, and a farce in the house of Marino Malipiero; it was written by the Neapolitan, Antonio Ricco, and staged by the members of the *Fausti* club; in 1508 we have the *Menaechmi* and the *Asinaria*, as well as an Eclogue, recited by Francesco de' Nobili, called Cherea, of Lucca, Secretary to Francesco da Sanseverino, and later on, the favourite of Pope Leo X, and other comedies given in various palaces, till suddenly, on December 29, 1509, the government put a stop to *recitationes et representationes comoediales, seu tragoediales*.[3] But comedy presently reappears; for instance, in Casa Lippomano, at Murano, on February 16, 1512, and Cherea himself returns in 1512, to recite at the wedding of a Contarini, and in the palace of Francesco da Sanseverino on the Giudecca in 1513; in this year and the following, tragedies, comedies, — in Latin or Italian, — eclogues, and farces follow one another in spite of prohibitions published from time to time by the government.[4] Sometimes patricians themselves took part in the play, as when, in August

[1] *Lettera di Giacomo Luigi Cornaro* (Padova, aprile 1566). See Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 752.

[2] Venetiis, Bernardinum Venetum de Vitalibus, s. a.

[3] D'Ancona (op. cit., II, 113 et seq.) gives the decree and mentions several comedies acted in Venice about this time.

[4] Ibid., loc. cit.

of 1512, in Casa Morosini at San Giovanni Laterano, a Contarini, a Tiepole, a Memmo, and a Cornaro, along with *altri 5 populari*, acted in the *Miles Gloriosus*,[1] and when, in February, 1515, the young Mocenigo in their house at the Carità, gave a comedy of Plautus in Latin *et fu bel veder et udir queli zoveni*.[2]

Theatrical representations were permitted in the Ghetto, but Christians were forbidden to be present.[3] We need not be surprised that a friar, Armonio, should have been the first to write an original Latin comedy, if we remember that licentious comedies, such as Machiavelli's *Mandragola*, were given even in the monasteries. In 1514 a translation of Plautus' *Asinaria* was acted in the monastery of Santo Stefano, and in 1533, in the evening of February 17, "fu fata nel monastero di San Zane Polo fra loro frati una comedia, e l'altra sera fu fata una a San Domenego, ma non intervenne alcun secolar," so says Sanudo,[4] who had already noticed several representations in the monastery of San Salvatore, where the brothers of Sant' Alessio gave *una devota cossa*,[5] and in the convent of the Crociferi, where the monks often assembled before the stage, and not always to listen to *devote cose*.[6] In fact, a veritable scandal took place in February, 1587: a play entitled *La Virtù e il Vizio* was being given by the monks of San Domenico di Castello before an enormous audience; one of the actors, Fra Giovanni Maria of Brescia, reputed somewhat crazy, took the part of a *facchino*, and "sparlò in scena d'una mala maniera della Religione, dicendo che ruberebbe il tabernacolo del Santissimo Sacramento al Papa, et che lo scorticherebbe, et delli Senatori Veneti con dire chel metterebbe volentieri quegli delle veste purpurate in

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, XIV, 641.
[2] Ibid., XIX, 444.
[3] Ibid., LIV, 326.
[4] Ibid., LVI, 528.
[5] Ibid., XIX, 434.
[6] Ibid., XXXII, 293, 458; XXXIII, 564.

galea al remo (sendone presenti infiniti senatori) per il che fu cacciato fuori della scena et si formò processo contro di lui"[1]; the friar got off, however, on the plea that he was daft.

The representations of Latin tragedies and comedies in the original was accompanied by the production of Italian translations and imitations. The fashion was set at Ferrara, where, on January 25, 1486, in the courtyard of the Palace they gave an Italian translation of the *Menaechmi*. The Italian tragic theatre came into being through the work of a Venetian writer, a subject of San Marco, Gian Giorgio Trissino of Vicenza, whose *Sofonisba* appeared in 1515. Trissino was followed among the Venetians by the Paduan Sperone Speroni with his *Canace*, by Cieco d'Adria with *Dalila* and *Adriana*, by the Venetian Lodovico Dolce with his *Marianne* and *Didone* and some free renderings of Euripides and Seneca. Then came Giambattista Liviera, of Vicenza, with his *Cresfonte;* Conte di Monte, also from Vicenza, with his *Antigono;* Aretino and Parabosco, both Venetians by right of domicile, the one with the *Orazia*, the other with *Progne*. If in all these tragedies the action is involved and drags and the characters are lifeless, comedy, which was bright and lively in other parts of Italy, is in no better plight as far as Venice is concerned. The strong character drawing, the *brio* of the dialogue, the acuteness of observation, the grace of the style,—all, in short, that goes to render the plays of Machiavelli, Ariosto, and Bibbiena so lively and attractive, we look for in vain from the Venetian playwrights Aretino, Parabosco, and the too facile Lodovico Dolce.[2] And yet throughout the involved development of the plots which are still

[1] *Cronaca Savina*, Bibl. Marciana, Cod. it. Cl. VII, n. 321, c. 339.

[2] Cicogna, *Memorie intorno la vita e le opere di L. Dolce* (Memoirs of the *Istituto Ven.*, 1863). Salza, *Delle commedie di L. Dolce*. Melfi, 1899. Dolce has left the following comedies: *Il capitano, La Fabbrizia, Il marito, Il ragazzo, Il ruffiano.*

copied from antique models, we now and then, especially in the comedies of Aretino, catch a flash which throws into relief the ideas and habits of the day; and the cuckold husbands, the cunning lover, the loose woman, the pimping friar, the greedy parasite, the dishonest servant, — in short, the whole gamut of that shifting, strange, and licentious existence which seethes in the midst of society at this date, — are sketched with freshness and veracity.

Farces had already made their appearance before the literary comedy; the farce was, of course, in the vulgar tongue, and we have one of the earliest examples in the translation of the *Catinia* of the humanist Sicco Polenton, of Trent. This translation in Venetian dialect, packed with Latinisms and Tuscan idioms, has been attributed to the son of Polenton, by name Modesto, and was printed at Trent in 1482.[1] Farces and *commedie rusticali* were extremely popular throughout the peninsula, thanks chiefly to the *Rozzi* of Siena; while in the Veneto we find, along with these pastoral comedies, a kind of dialogue called *mariazi* or *mogliazzi*, bickerings between husband and wife, and rude and uncouth eclogues of rural life,[2] from which the comedy in dialect for the most part drew its inspiration.[3] Sanudo frequently refers to pastoral eclogues, masques, and comedies *di villani e villane, buffonesche, a la villota*.[4]

The theatre of the people completed its natural course by evolving the *commedia dell'arte* or comedies, in which

[1] Segarizzi, *La Catinia*, etc., p. lxi. Sicco called his play the *Catinia* from his protagonist the potter. Carlo Battisti (*Archivio Trentino*, Vol. XIX, fasc. 2°, and Vol. XX, fasc. 1°, 1904–1905) has published the text; that is to say, he has reprinted the only copy known to exist and now in the Marciana. He concludes that the text in the vulgar tongue is in the dialect of Trent.

[2] Cavassico and his like are examples for the district of Belluno in the sixteenth century. See the *Introduzione* to Cian's *Le rime di B. Cavassico*, Vol. I; the text is in Vol. II.

[3] Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, pp. 305, 306.

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XII, 16; XIII, 483; XLVI, 632.

MASKS of the "Commedia dell' Arte" — from "Diversarum nationum habitus," by Pietro Bertelli

the subject was sketched in outline, the actors filling in the parts. These mimes held the stage throughout the Middle Ages, and were acted by rude players, half comedians, half mountebanks; Ruzzante and Calmo[1] gave precision to these outlines when they came to write their comedies of low life. The character, habits, ideas, costume, and taste of the people underwent a gradual change, and in place of comedies translated or adapted from the antique they came to prefer this new style in which the wildest of plots, the most fantastic costumes, the most elaborate mounting were served up with a piquant sauce in the phraseology of the fixed characters or masks, whose numbers grew, and who acquired new forms and new characteristics as the theatre developed, and in addition to the *Vecchio*, the *Magnifico*, the *Mattaccino*, the *Facchino*, old friends at Carnival time, we get the *Burattino*, the *Villano*, the *Zany* and his derivatives, *Harlequin* and *Brighella*, who in their turn pass from the stage to the joyous rout of the piazza in carnival. In these sketches of plays — these *scenari*, as they are called — the general lines of the plot are laid down and the parts mapped out, but the dialogue is not elaborated. Each character is merely told the substance of what he has to say; and so a quick and lively actor had every opportunity of investing his part with all the spontaneous realism of improvisation.[2] The actors, who frequently were authors as well, turned to ridicule the characteristic defects, the manners and speech of other countries; they introduced into the dialogue jokes, quips, and buffooneries invented on the spur of the moment; but the dialogue, nevertheless,

[1] Gaspary, *St. della lett. ital.*, trans. by V. Rossi, II, 11, p. 396. Torino, 1891. Stoppato, *La comm. pop. in It.*, pp. 131, 190. Padova, 1887.

[2] Flaminio Scala, *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative*, etc. Venetia, 1640. The oldest and richest *scenario* goes back to 1558. It is preserved by Massimo Troiano and gives the *scenario* of a comedy acted at the Bavarian Court. Bartoli, Ad., *Scenari inediti della comm. dell'arte*. Introd., p. cxlvii. Firenze, 1880.

must frequently have dragged, and to enliven it, recourse was had to hundreds of coarse jests learned by rote, and the audience came to know exactly what Pantaloon and Harlequin would say before they opened their mouths.

The Venetians, who always preferred spectacles which appealed to the eye, introduced into their comedies musical interludes, songs, ballets, masques, as was the case with the representation of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus on February 9, 1516, by the *Innocenti* club of the *Compagnia della Calza*, in the courtyard of Ca' Pesaro at San Benedetto. The *intermezzi* represented the infernal regions, with flames and fiends and goats, while one of the actors played the part of a necromancer, who was presently turned into Adonis on a triumphal car surrounded by nymphs, who danced to the strains of the music while they beat time on anvils shaped like human hearts.[1] Among the spectators at these representations, — which were admirably mounted (*conzada per excellentia*), the actors being dressed in satins,[2] — we find royal personages who were guests of Venice, ambassadors and even the Papal Legate *incognito*; indeed we hear of a "very jocund comedie" (*assai ferial*) given in the Legate's apartments in the presence of Senators *che è contra la leze*.[3] In February, 1526, in the Palazzo Trevisan on the Giudecca, a banquet was served in honour of the Patriarch of Aquileia, followed by three comedies from the pens of Cherea, Ruzzante, and Cimador, and, to grace the occasion, the ambassadors accredited to the Republic, and sixteen of the most lovely ladies of Venice[4] received invitations. And among such distinguished company we sometimes even find *alcune meretrici*,[5] while the actors themselves were not always of exemplary modesty, and occasionally gave

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XIX, 443.
[2] Ibid., XXXVII, 653.
[3] Ibid., XXIX, 600.
[4] Ibid., XL, 789.
[5] Ibid., XVIII, 265.

rein to *multa verba et acta turpia, lasciva et inhonestissima*, so that the government, after first of all prohibiting comedies in 1509, and then permitting them again, attempted, in 1518, 1521, and 1553, to put an end to the scandals by fixing the hours, limiting the length of the plays, forbidding representations at certain seasons and other provisions which were continually renewed, revoked, or violated,[1] and Francesco Sansovino declares that *le commedie aveano sempre gran corso*.[2] The actors, however, were by no means always capable. A curious letter dated February 20, 1555, written to Duke Ottavio Farnese by Francesco Franchino, afterwards Bishop of Massa,[3] gives an account of a theatrical fiasco. "Hiersera," he says, "nella Giudeca fu fatta una comedia a spesa di certi gentilhuomeni di questa città gentilissimi, ove concursero tutte le belle gentildonne de Venetia. Mons. Rev.mo[4] me menò seco con gran piacer mio. La comedia haveva a durare otto hore, ma finì alle cinque: fino al primo atto l'histrioni se portarono assai bene: doppo cominciorno a dar nelle scartate, come se dice, et andarono a precipizio non altrimenti che quando un essercito è messa in fuga; e la cosa riuscì tanto infelicemente che essi medesimi domandarono perdono agli spettatori. L'apparato, la scena e la spesa fu honorata, ma, come ho detto, li comedianti si intricorono et si dettero per perduti, nè anco la comedia in sè era di buon autore; tanto è che la cosa è risoluta che la persona per ridere et haver solazzo non può far meglio che andare ad ascoltare quelle che si fanno ogni dì in diversi luoghi ad imitation di

[1] [Arrigoni] *Not. ed osservaz. intorno all'origine dei teatri in Venezia.* Per nozze Michiel-Morosini, pp. 7, 10. Venezia, 1840.

[2] *Venetia*, p. 160.

[3] Arch. di Stato di Parma, *Carteggio Farnesiano* (1555).

[4] Perhaps Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, who at the beginning of this year passed his time between Venice and the abbey of Nervesa before returning to Rome, whither he was summoned in June, 1555, by Pope Paul IV. Della Casa was a friend of the Farnesi, and was patronized by them.

Catinella."[1] The *zany* Catinella had better luck. The better the actors knew how to raise a laugh, the more were they in request, and the tables of the great were thronged with more buffoons than any other kind of artist, as we learn from Garzoni, who has left us the following account of certain comedians, who improvised a stage, sketched the scene in charcoal, and delighted the populace with the grossest obscenities. "Come entrano questi," says Garzoni, "dentro a una città, subito con tamburo si fa sapere: che i Signori Comici tali, arrivati, andando la Signora vestita da uomo con la spada in mano, a fare la rassegna, e s'invita il popolo a una commedia, o tragedia, o pastorale in palazzo, o all'osteria del *Pellegrino,* ove la plebe desiosa di cose nuove e curiosa per sua natura, subito s'affretta a occupar la stanza, e si passa per mezzo di gazzette [a small coin] dentro alla sala preparata, e qui si trova un palco postizzo, una scena dipinta col carbone, senza un giudizio al mondo; s'ode un concerto antecedente d'asini e galavroni; si sente un prologo da Ceretano . . . un Magnifico che non vale un bezzo, un Zani che pare un'oca, un Graziano che caca le parole, una Ruffiana insulsa e scioccarella, un Innamorato che stroppia le braccia a tutti quando favella; un Spagnuolo che non sa proferir, se non *mi vida* e *mi corazon;* un pedante che scarta nelle parole toscane a ogni tratto, un burattino che non sa far altro gesto che quello del berrettino che si mette in capo, una Signora sopratutto orca nel dire, morta nel favellare, addormentata nel gestire, che ha perpetua inimicizia con le grazie, e tiene con la bellezza differenza capitale."[2]

On the other hand, we know that there were actors of considerable ability, like Cherea, the mosaicist Valerio Zuccato and his wife Polonia, Marco Aurelio Alvarotto

[1] Franchino is referring to the mountebank Catinella and his imitators, vulgar *improvisatori.* D'Ancona, op. cit., I, 414.
[2] Garzoni, *Piazza,* p. 740.

called Menato, Girolamo Zanetti called Vezzo, Castagnola called Billora, Francesco Berettaro, Andrea Razer, Zanipolo and his son Cimador, Pietro d'Armano, Trapolino, Franciotto, Tizone, Domenico *taja calze*, Berto *de la biava*, Francesco Gatta, and others, who formed themselves into associations that in a way foreshadow the modern theatrical company.[1] The writers of comedy in dialect enjoyed a great reputation; among them, the Paduan Ruzzante, who won a high position in Venice,[2] Giancarli from Rovigo, and the Venetians Molino and Calmo. Angelo Beolco, nicknamed Ruzzante, died in 1542, forty years of age; Speroni called him the new Roscius, and he made his name in the *Piovana* and the *Vaccaria*, comedies in the style of Plautus; but his real triumphs were achieved in the pastoral comedies, *Fiorina, Moschetta*, and the *Dialoghi in lingua rustica*, where the three dialects of Padua, Venice, and Bergamo[3] are blended in scenes of considerable comical merit. Luigi Giancarli, nicknamed Gigio Artemio, lawyer, poet, and painter, wrote tragedies, farces, and eclogues, and a few comedies; the *Capraria* and the *Cingara* have been published. Antonio da Molino, called the *Burchiella*, was, according to Lodovico Dolce, the first to introduce a mixture of tongues into his comedies,[4] but we have no work of his except the poem called *I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi* and some few squibs. This attempt, made by Ruzzante and Molin, to blend various languages and dialects in comic dialogue, is very likely earlier than either of them[5]; it was imitated by Calmo, who mingled Paduan, Sclav, and Bergamasque dialect with pure Venetian in

[1] Rossi, V, *Introd. alle lett. del Calmo*, p. xxxi, and the letter on page 139. See D'Ancona, *Orig.*, II, 231, 232.

[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVIII, 255.

[3] Wendriner, *Die paduanische Mundart bei Ruzzante*. Breslau, 1889. Lovarini, *Notizie sul Ruzzante*, in the *Giornale Stor. della lett. it.*, supp. 2. Torino, 1899.

[4] See Dolce's dedication to the poem of Molin. Venezia, 1561.

[5] Bartoli, *Scenarî*, Introd., p. cxxv.

his *Egloghe pastorali* and in the comedies, *Spagnolas, Saltuzza, Pozione, Fiorina, Rhodiana,* and *Travaglia,* which are certainly among the best plays of the day for their genuine spirit of comedy, their ready wit, and their delineation of character. It was Calmo, perhaps, who was the first to create one of the most universal types of the comic stage, Pantaloon, the honest, simple merchant, evolved perhaps from the earlier mask the *Magnifico;* and Calmo was also the first to revive a typical character of Latin comedy, the *Miles Gloriosus,* the braggart, coward captain.[1]

In process of time companies of comedians came into being. We hear of the *Confidenti,* the *Gelosi,* the *Uniti,* the *Fedeli,* the *Desiosi.* The most famous was the company of the *Gelosi,* who gave to the Italian stage three actors of the celebrated family of Andreini, — Isabella, Francesco, creator of the mask *Capitan Spavento,* and their son Giambattista, author of the tragedy *Adamo.*[2] We have records of other Venetian actors of this date, Prudenza the Veronese; Giulio Pasquati of Padua, to whom, as well as to Calmo, is attributed the creation of Pantaloon; Orazio Nobili, also from Padua, master and possibly relation of Isabella Andreini, Gasparino of Venice, and Silvestro from Treviso.[3] The custom of giving female parts to boys gradually died out, and the appearance of real women on the stage lent veracity and attraction to the spectacle.[4] Following on, Polonia, wife of the mosaicist and comedian Valerio Zuccato, Vittoria Piissimi of Ferrara, — *la divina Vittoria, la bella maga d'amore,* as Garzoni calls her, — rose to great fame as actress, singer, and dancer

[1] Rossi, V., op. cit., Introd., pp. lxxiii and lxxiv.

[2] When the *Gelosi* were broken up in 1604, Giambattista Andreini founded another company, called the *Fedeli.*

[3] Rasi, *I comici italiani.* Firenze, 1897–1905. Also Fr. Bartoli, *Not. ist. dei comici it.,* II, 273. Padova, 1782.

[4] Quadrio, *St. e rag. d'ogni poesia,* V, 240. Bologna-Milano, 1739–1752.

INTERIOR of the Olympic Theatre at Vicenza — design of Palladio, executed by Vincenzo Scamozzi

Photo by Alinari

in Venice. Lidia da Bagnacavallo and Vincenza Armani, a native of Venice, roused the utmost enthusiasm by their improvisations. Speaking of Armani, Garzoni says: "che imitando la facondia ciceroniana, ha posto l'arte comica in concorrenza con l'oratoria, e parte colla beltà mirabile, parte con la grazia indicibile, ha eretto un amplissimo trionfo di sè stessa al mondo spettatore, facendosi divulgare per la più eccellente commediante di nostra etade."[1] The genius, learning, and beauty of Vincenza fired the heart of Adriano Valerini, no vulgar writer and himself a comedian; for her he wrote a funeral oration in which occurs the following laudation of his mistress: "Nel cucire, nel ricamare, anzi nel dipinger con l'ago avanzò non solo tutte le altre compagne ma favolosa Aracne . . . Possedeva benissimo la lingua latina e felicissimamente vi spiegava ogni concetto . . . Musica sublime . . . suonatrice soavissima di vari stromenti, scultrice in cera valentissima, faconda e profonda parlatrice e comica eccellentissima."[2] Armani, not yet thirty years old, died suddenly at Cremona in the arms of Valerini, in September, 1569; it was said that she had been poisoned out of jealousy either in love or in her art. The fame of Isabella Andreini, however, outshone all others; poetess and comedian, of great beauty and unsullied virtue, she was admired, honoured, lauded in life and in death by princes and peoples, and by the greatest poets such as Torquato Tasso, who wrote for her the sonnet beginning:

> Quando v'ordiva il prezïoso velo
> L'alma natura, e le mortali spoglie,
> Il bel cogliea, sì come fior si coglie,
> Togliendo gemme in terra e lumi in cielo.

Isabella was born in Padua in 1562; her father was Paolo Canali, and in 1578 she married Francesco

[1] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 738.

[2] *Oratione d'Adriano Valerini veronese in morte della divina signora Vincenza Armani*, etc. Verona, 1570.

Andreini. She died at Lyons in 1604, and her epitaph, which does not lie, declares her to have been beautiful and good, of a ready wit, beloved of the Muses, faithful and affectionate to her spouse, unhappy only in that he lived too long, seeing he had to outlive her.

Italian comedians, honoured in their own country, met with a like ready welcome abroad, where they reaped a rich harvest of glory and of gold. In 1570 Catherine de' Medici summoned Italian actors to Paris, and four years later Henry III, intending to pass through Venice, expressed a desire to hear the *Gelosi*, and the Venetian Secretary, Alvise Bonrizzo, wrote to the Signory from Pontebba on July 7, 1574, as follows: "Fra tutti li passatempi che si possono dar a S. M. niuno li potrà esser più caro di questo che in Venetia vi siano quelli comedianti che erano questa invernata"; and further on: "Li desidera [that is, the comic actors] fuor di modo, massime con quella donna che medesimamente recitava questa invernata."[1] The celebrated actress whom the king so ardently desired to hear was Vittoria Piissimi, whose stage name was *Fioretta*; her troupe then included the famous Simon of Bologna, as *Zany* or *Harlequin*, and Giulio Pasquati as *Magnifico*. In 1576 the king invited the *Gelosi* to the Hôtel Bourbon, and such was the enthusiasm they roused by their acting and by the mounting of their plays that Parliament issued an order to expel them, perhaps because they proved too great a distraction for monarch and subjects alike.[2] Venice had no such fears, and rich and poor were free to take the enjoyment of the stage. As we have seen, farces, dialogues, pastoral eclogues, recited on the piazza or in booths or taverns, were the delight of the populace, while tragedies

[1] De Nolhac and Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III*, cit., p. 60, and *Documento XIII*.

[2] Bernardin, *La comédie italienne en France et le Théâtre de la Foire*. Paris, 1902. In 1599 Henry IV recalled the *Gelosi* to Paris, and they acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, remaining in France till 1604.

Front View of the Stage Setting in the Olympic Theatre at Vicenza *Photo by Alinari*

and comedies, elaborately staged,[1] were given in the palaces of the rich or in the various academies.[2] These temporary stages were frequently decorated by such great artists as Titian, who was employed by the *Sempiterni* to design *macchine, edifici e simili comparse*. The *Sempiterni* called in Vasari and two of his friends, natives of Borgo San Sepolcro, — Cristofano Gherardi called Doceno and Battista Cungi, — to prepare the mounting for Aretino's *Talanta*,[3] which they intended to give in a house on the Cannaregio. Vasari and his companions arranged two tiers of wooden seats for the ladies, and painted the sides with allegorical subjects, deities, landscapes, rivers, such as Jove, Juno, Tithonus, Venice, Crete, the Po, the Brenta, the Tagliamento; round the ceiling they ran a cornice with globes of distilled water, behind which were placed lights that lit the whole chamber.[4] But the first building erected as a public theatre was due to another club of the *Calza*, the *Accesi*. In 1565 they commissioned Vasa Palladio, who, in the courtyard of the Carità, built what Vasari describes as a *mezzo teatro di legname a uso di colosseo*,[5] possibly arranged on the model of a Roman theatre. This scheme Palladio employed for the *teatro Olimpico* at Vicenza which was carried to a conclusion after Palladio's death by the master Vincenzo Scamozzi, and serves to show us how the body of the theatre and the stage were arranged. The thirteen tiers of seats, in an ellipse,

[1] Flechsig, *Die Dekoration der moder. Bühne in It. von d. Anfängen bis zum Schluss d. XVI Jahr*, Part I. Dresden, 1894.

[2] In the great hall of the *Pellegrini* there was a splendidly decorated theatre where they gave comedies and concerts. Giaxich, *Dell'accademia dei Pellegrini* (in the *Mercurio filosofico e poetico*, Vol. III. Venezia, Zerbetti, 1810).

[3] *La Talanta, Comedia di M. Pietro Aretino composta a petitione de' magnifici Signori Sempiterni e recitata dalle lor proprie magnificientie con mirabil superbia d'apparato*. Vinegia, Marcolini, 1542.

[4] Vasari, *Vita del Gherardi*, XI, 9, 11. Firenze, Le Monnier, 1855.

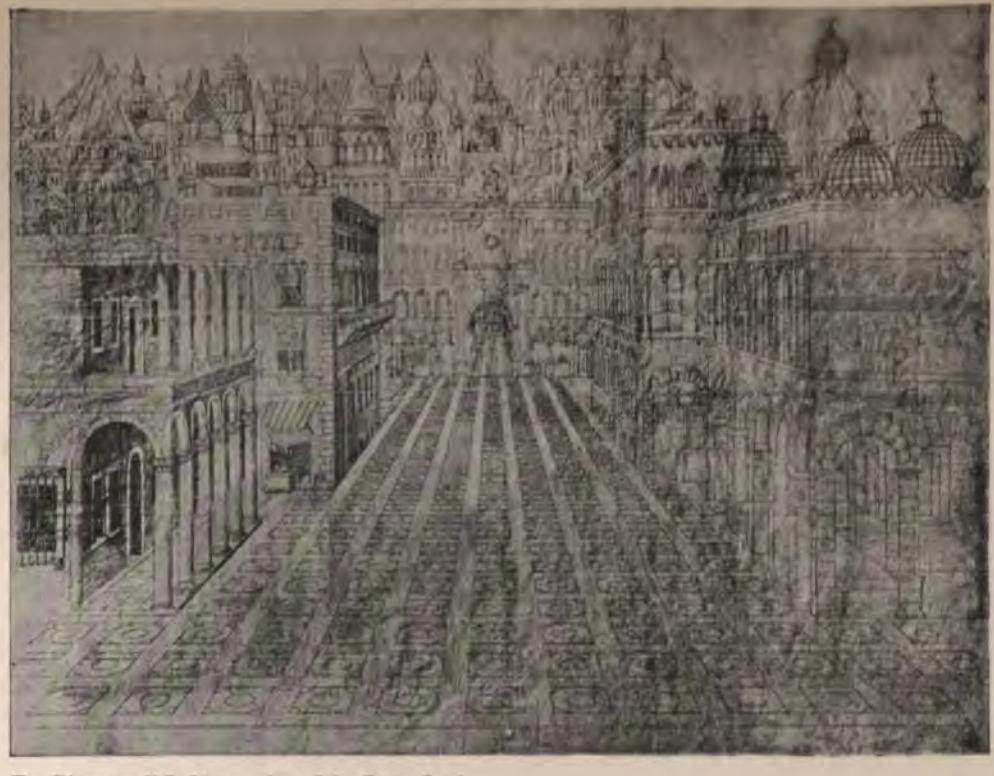
[5] Id., *Vite degli Zuccheri*, XII, 127.

were surmounted by a row of twenty-eight Corinthian columns, carrying a loggia and balustrade. The body of the theatre was adorned with statues, and the ceiling represented a curtain held up with cords; below the spectators, in the semi-ellipse, was the orchestra, and in front rose the permanent scene, designed by Scamozzi, in three orders, — the two lower Corinthian, the upper Attic. The scene had three exits in front and two at the side, and was adorned by a noble arch and with niches, statues, and bas-reliefs. As is usual at the opening of the Seicento, the scene, which represented the streets of Thebes, was in full relief, and the houses of the streets, given in admirable perspective, were in immediate contact with the curtain of the background, which could be shifted by machinery as required.[1]

Sebastian Serlio, twenty years earlier, had constructed a theatre on the Roman model at Venice. He has left us important documents, not merely on the architecture of theatres, but also on the decoration of the stage, which reveal in the play of perspective and of pictorial adornments, the classico-Vitruvian influence.[2] Serlio tells us how the tragic scene must represent the houses of the great; the comic scene, the abodes of private persons; and the satiric scene must be adapted to the personages of the play, who speak rudely, *come sarìa a dir gente rustica,* — that is to say, it must show us *arbori, sassi, colli, capanene alla rustica.*[3] Serlio has left us a drawing of the Piazza di San Marco evidently adapted to serve as a scene on the stage.[4]

The Venetian Angelo Ingegneri, who published a treatise on the proper way *di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, observes that a "royal purse" is needed to mount certain pieces where elaborate machinery and

[1] Ferrari, G., *La Scenografia*, pp. 46, 69. Milano, Hoepli, 1902.
[2] Ibid., p. 74.
[3] Serlio, *Il secondo libro di Prospettiva.* Venezia, 1584.
[4] Ferrari, op. cit., p. 48.



THE Piazzetta di S. Marco adapted for Stage Setting —design of Sebastiano Serlio. (Galleria degli Uffizi)

gorgeous costumes are required, and he accordingly recommends the construction of plays that demand but little mounting.[1] The scene, he says, "deve assimigliarsi il più che sia possibile al luogo dove si finge che sia avvenuto il caso di cui è composta la favola"; and as to the auditorium, the women should be allowed the most comfortable places, with nothing in front of them to prevent them from seeing, while the men should be so arranged as not to crowd each other and mutually prevent each other from commanding the stage. For this purpose the arrangement of tiers, as in the Olympic Theatre, is admirably adapted. As regards lighting, so as to save the audience from *tocchi da cere* and *licori cadenti*, Ingegneri advises the employment of a "fregio pendente dall'alto il quale divide il cielo della scena da quello del teatro, ma non cada tanto in giuso ch'egli occupi troppo della vista della fronte di detta scena, e sia dal lato di dentro dirimpetto alla stessa fronte tutto pieno di lampadini accesi con riflessi d'orpello accomodati talmente ch'essi mandino il lume addosso ai recitanti," while leaving the auditorium in a dim light favourable for holding the attention of the spectators.[2]

Palladio's wooden theatre at the Carità was opened on February 28, 1565. It may have been the complicated decoration and stage machinery, and the exacting nature of the actors and of his employers, which caused the architect to write thus to Vincenzo Arnaldi: "Ho finito di fare questo benedetto theatro nel quale ho fatto la penitentia de quanti peccati ho fatti e sono per fare. Marti prossimo si reciterà la tragedia. Quando V. S. potesse vederla, io la esorterei a venire, perchè si spera che debba essere cosa rara."[3] A rare

[1] Ingegneri, *Della Poesia rappresentativa et del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, p. 6. Bergamo, Ventura, 1604.

[2] Ibid., pp. 35, 39.

[3] Temanza, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori Ven.*, p. 313. Venezia, 1758.

sight, no doubt, was this theatre, the work of so distinguished an architect and decorated by Federico Zuccheri of Sant' Angelo in Vado, a clever artist who painted for the scenery, "dodici storie grandi di sette piedi e mezzo l'una per ogni verso, con altre infinite cose de' fatti d'Ircano re di Jerusalem, secondo il soggetto della tragedia; sulla quale opera acquistò Federigo onore assai per la bontà di quella, e prestezza con la quale la condusse."[1] The play, called *Antigono*, based on a Hebrew story, was written by a countryman of Palladio, Messer Conte di Monte di Masone near Vicenza.[2] No details of this representation have come down to us, nor do we know the titles of the other plays which doubtless were given in this wooden theatre, but they must have been of a magnificence which only the Company of the Hose and the Olympians of Vicenza could afford.[3] The Olympians opened their theatre for the first time in 1585 with the *Œdipus* translated by Orsatto Giustinian; the members of the club themselves took the parts, though *Œdipus* was intrusted to the Cieco d'Adria, who was brought to Vicenza with much ceremony. The mounting is described as of *insuperabile grandezza*, and although "gl'interlocutori non fossero più di nove, nondimeno le persone vestite che v'intravennero . . . per fare 'l Choro arrivarono al numero di cento e otto e gli abiti costarono parecchie centinaia di ducati."[4] But the superb mounting and the efforts of the actors did not suffice, and the tragedy failed to achieve that *nobile riuscita promessa dal grido immortale* of the great play which was not *confacevole al gusto morbido e delicato di questi tempi*.[5]

[1] Vasari, op. cit., XII, 127.

[2] "*Antigono*. Tragedia dell'Ecc. M. Conte di Monte Vicentino. Al Clarissimo Signor Francesco Pisani. Con gratia et privilegio de l'illustrissima Signoria di Venetia. Per Comin da Trino di Monferrato, MDLXV."

[3] Ingegneri, op. cit., p. 6.

[4] Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

[5] Michele, Ag., *Discorso in cui si dimostra come si possano scrivere con molta lode le commedie e le tragedie in prosa*, pp. 4, 5. Venezia, 1592.

In Venice the taste for theatrical performances was so lively among the people that they would climb walls, break open doors, or swim the canals to force their way into the place where some famous comedian was acting.[1] A rigid moralist, Antonio Persio, born at Matera about 1525, who lived some years in Venice as a guest in the Cornaro family, is very severe on the habits of the Venetians. Speaking more particularly of the theatres and possibly of Palladio's theatre at the Carità, he says: "A tempo che io quivi dimoravo v'erano introdotte le commedie in modo che per esse v'era stato fatto un edificio di gran spesa a guisa di anfiteatro, ove si riduceva quasi tutta la nobiltà e v'erano nobili che pregavano i commedianti che dicessero le più grasse, per non dir più sporche, cose che mai sapessero, et essi ci menavano poi le mogli e le figlie." Persio goes on: "I Giesuiti, per ovviare a quel vituperoso modo di recitar comedie sì lascivamente, et con sì gran concorso di tutta quasi la città, ma più de' nobili, messero in consideratione a quei senatori, che in quel luogo così fabbricato et pieno di tanta gente, et massime de' nobili, i quali avevano per loro affittati quasi tutti i palchi, facilmente ad alcuno poteva venir in mente con qualche machina di far abbruggiare, et cascare quell'edificio, et estinguere buona parte di quella nobiltà, onde fattesi molte et molte renghe in Senato sopra ciò, et conosciuto l'evidente pericolo in che la Città si ritrovava, prohibirono affatto recitare le commedie et fecero disfare quella fabbrica ch'era stata fatta a quell'effetto, con gran danno di chi l'haveva fatta fare."[2] The expedient adopted by the Jesuits

[1] Parabosco, *Il primo libro delle lettere famigliari*, pp. 52, 53. Vinegia, 1551.

[2] The inedited manuscript of Persio is in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (MS. XI, E. 40), and bears the following title: *Trattato dei Portamenti della Signoria di Venetia verso Santa Chiesa del signor Antonio Persio, theologo, giureconsulto et filosofo.* It is dedicated to a *Simone Pietro capo degli Apostoli et della Chiesa Catholica Romana et a suoi degni successori.* 1608, p. 134, t°.

was worthy of them; but it is true that many speeches against immoral plays were delivered in the Senate and such plays were even probibited. In 1577 the Republic expelled the players, and some little time later when the younger men endeavoured to secure their recall, Zaccaria Contarini, the Procurator, though unable to leave his couch, caused himself to be carried into the Senate, and raising his *languido capo* from the pillows, he spoke in favour of maintaining the decree. In 1581 Agostino Barbarigo in an impassioned discourse induced the Ten to forbid comedies, and the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Paolo Mori, adds that "li frati gesuiti hanno reclamato assai, che nelli palchi (dei teatri) si operassero molte scelleratezze con scandalo."[1] It is possible, therefore, that Palladio's theatre actually was pulled down by order of the government more to please the Jesuits than from fear of fire; all the same we are inclined rather to accept Temanza's statement[2] that the theatre was burned in the fire of 1630 which destroyed the monastery of the Carità. The attacks of the Jesuits, however, had much the same effect as the provisions of the government, and soon after Palladio's wooden *mezzo colosseo* was built, we hear of a stone theatre raised in the Corte Michiela at San Cassiano, which gave its name to the street *della Commedia vecchia* and *del Teatro vecchio* to distinguish it from another theatre erected in the eighteenth century in the same locality. Palladio's theatre and the "old theatre" were the first two permanent playhouses erected in Venice, and they were quickly followed by many others.

While the drama was following the phases of its development, music, too, flourished in Venice; prayers in the churches, songs in the streets, madrigals in the saloons of the rich, poems in the patricians' palaces or on the stage, all were clothed in musical

[1] D'Ancona, op. cit., II, 183, 452, n. 2.
[2] *Vite dei più celebri arch.*, cit.

garb. Antonfrancesco Doni magnifies the glory of Venetian music,[1] and, as Francesco Sansovino declared, Euterpe seemed to have found her home in the lagoons[2]; where the liberality of the government and of the nobility, the softness of the dialect, the site of the city, its art, its monuments, its natural beauty which served to create that atmosphere of voluptuous softness peculiarly adapted to the mood of music, all were favourable to her growth. The plastic arts themselves bore witness to the delight in sweet sounds. Jacopo Sansovino, in the figure of Apollo on the Loggetta, desired to express the devotion of Venice to the art of music[3]; the vague emotions inspired by sound assume definite form in the works of the Venetian painters who drew from the mysterious raptures of music a clear and well-defined conception of life and of beauty, and they expressed their feeling under the guise of radiant female beauty, or of angels and cherubs who play and sing. Music, which by its nature is the language of dreams, and therefore ill suited to express definite ideas, though capable of inspiring vague sensations of unreasoned joy or sorrow, stirred in these vigorous masters a world of joys and sorrows which were full of life, reality, and sensuousness. They draw for us those companies of high-born men and women met for music and for song, in the gilded chambers of their palaces, in the gardens and vineyards of the lagoon, in the parks and groves of their villas on the mainland; but again and again in the midst of these realistic groups we come across some female figure expressing all the harmony of the nude, and in that perfection of line and colour the artist has embodied

[1] Doni, *Dialogo della musica*. Vinegia, Scoto, 1543.

[2] Sansovino, *Venetia*, VIII.

[3] Sansovino himself, explaining his intention in the reliefs of the Loggetta, says that Apollo represents not merely the harmony which characterises the Venetian constitution, but also the passion Venetians have for music. Temanza, *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, p. 26. Venezia, 1752.

his own conception of the musical idea which grasps life under the aspect of joy. Giorgione, for example, listening to the sound of lutes, sees that vision, so vividly realistic in its fantasy, the *Concerto campestre* in the Louvre. Poetical emotions, the visions evoked by music, are converted into material symbols on the canvases of Titian or of Tintoretto, where the opulence of healthy female flesh and blood seems to breathe the very essence of liquid harmony.

And in truth the atmosphere of Venice was favourable to the intoxicating charm of sound. Music took its part in the solemn functions of the Church, of the State, of the guild, attended the marches and the battles of the soldier, arose mid the silence of the temples, the *fêtes* in the palaces, the serenades "di che," as Da Porto says, "con sommo diletto degli abitanti la città suole essere abbondevolissima."[1]

The musical instruments of the Middle Ages — the harp, harpsichord, lyre, viol, lute, cithern, theorbo, bagpipe, clavier, pipes, trumpets, castanets — were now multiplied by new devices of endless variety of form; wind, string, and percussion were employed, and the streets resounded to the music of companies of minstrels, such as Carpaccio has recorded, which in time came to be known under the generic name of bands. Not only contemporary pictures, but engravings of the day, show us the form of the instruments most in use; among the more remarkable we may note the illustrations to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1497), the *Macrobius* of 1513, *Thoscanello della Musica*, (1528), the Florentine Pietro Aron's book on the theory of music. Aron was canon of Rimini Cathedral in 1522, and founded a choir, and, as it would seem, died there about 1562.[2]

[1] Da Porto, *Lett. stor.*, cit., p. 43.

[2] The *Thoscanello* was first published at Venice by Vitali in 1523 and again in 1525 and 1529.

"Il Concerto Campestre," by Giorgione. (Paris, Louvre) *Photo by Heurdein Frères*

The government encouraged famous musical instrument makers, like Bastiano of Verona, Lorenzo of Pavia, and Guido Trasuntino,[1] and granted patents for inventions.[2] The fame of Venetian organ-builders, already well established, grew rapidly during the sixteenth century when the use of organs became common in churches,[3] and when, about 1450, a Venetian, Bernardo Pavari, nicknamed *Murer*, organist of Saint Mark's, according to some, invented pedals.[4] Hydraulic organs[5] had long ago disappeared, while bellows organs continued to receive improvements in their pipes, seats, stops, keyboards, and pedals.[6] It

[1] The Bolognese Leonardo Fioravanti (*Specchio di scientia*, cit.) says: "Guido Trasuntino, nell'arte di Alpicordi, Clauicembali, Clauiorgani, Reali et Organi, è huomo di tanta dottrina et esperienza, che il mondo si meraviglia in udire de suo' instromenti; perciochè di melodie et armonie passano tutti gli altri et quelli, che da altri sono fatti senza armonia, egli gli acconcia et gli fa divini et rari." Aretino too (*Lett.*, II, 317) has high praise for Trasuntino. Flutes and other musical instruments were sold in the streets by pedlers (*merceretti*). Cicogna, *Iscr.*, I, 317.

[2] In 1575 (October 22) the brothers Federico and Vittore Clementi of Cividale received a patent for a harpsichord (Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, file 67), and in 1582 (June 13) Sante Bassan was granted a patent for five and twenty years for his wind instruments (Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 54, fol. 31).

[3] Sansovino, *Venetia*, IV, 244. As early as 1494 Casola (*Viaggio*, cit., p. 11) says that almost every parish church had *el suo bello choro e organo*.

[4] Canal, *Della musica in Venezia* (in *Venezia e le sue lagune*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 481).

[5] A fine engraving of an organ is found in Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius (1567). Barbaro illustrates the way in which the wind is introduced into the pipes by hydraulic pressure. But with this exception the engraving gives us a Venetian bellows organ of the sixteenth century.

[6] We have some curious details as to the construction of organs in a contract for the organ of Santa Caterina at Treviso, built in Venice in 1503. The document is published in the *Archivio Veneto* (XXIII, 149), and affords us minute particulars as to organ building as practised in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Master *Nicuola dai Organi fio de maistro Andrea Veronese*, living in Venice in the parish of San Pantaleone, enters into contract with Fra Eliseo, prior of Santa Caterina in Treviso, to build an organ of seven stops, "i quali registri saranno questi zovè (cioè) prima i tenori che è de numero e tasti quarantasette." The main pipe was to be ten feet long, not including the base, and the others in due proportion; "i quali tenori vano davanti de stagno, excepto le tre principal cane, le qual vano de drio de piombo cum castelli cinque:

seems that, following a practice known in our own day and more especially in Milan, they made organs of cardboard (*ex papiro*) which they were able to render as resonant as metal.[1] The most beautiful decoration was applied to church organs; we may cite the organ case in San Sebastiano, which was carved in 1588 by a Master Francesco Fiorentino,[2] from designs by Paolo Veronese, while the doors were painted by Paolo himself, outside with the scene of the Purification, inside with the Pool of Bethesda. The musical academies throughout the city prided themselves on their collections of instruments and of music; Sansovino makes special mention of the collection of the Advocate Luigi Balbi at Santa Maria Zobenigo, of the Cavaliere Sanudo at San Giovanni Decollato; of Agostino Amadi, who, in his palace at Santa Croce, had enriched his father's artistic collections with rare specimens of musical instruments; of Caterino Zeno

il terzo registro zovè la quinta decima; el quarto zovè la decimanona, el quinto la vigesima-secunda, el sesto la vigesima-sesta: lo septimo li flauti, cum somier et mantesi capazi per dito organo cum la sua testadura, la qual è tra tasti e semitoni numero quarantasette." The price was fixed at 150 ducats "et le spese de bocha de dito maistro Nicola et soi operarii et caxa (lodging) al tempo di meter suso dito organo: cum conditio che diti segnor frati siano tenudi a pagar la bolleta," or octroi at Treviso. Another important contract bears the date February 6, 1575 (*Arch. Veneto*, XV, 174). The patrician Andrea da Mula caused an organ for the church of San Vito to be built by Girolamo Francesco da Montenegro and by Francesco Bressan. The work is minutely described in the contract; it was to be five feet high, "con tre voci da basso," and with six stops, "ciò è il tenor, otava, quinta, desima, desima nona, vigesima seconda et flauto." The two organ-builders bound themselves to make the pipes stout "aportion et facendo bela mostra da vanti, come de feramenta, legname et foli et altro." They guaranteed that the organ would play perfectly, and accepted the judgment "de intelligenti organisti," and in case it were not "cognuciuto per buono et perfetto" they were bound "tuorlo indriedo," and to refund the money advanced. The price was fixed at one hundred ducats of lire 6, soldi 24 each one.

[1] On the subject of such organs ancient Venetian documents throw some light; for example, in a deed of the notary Marco Micheli dated August, 1511, we find mentioned *unum organum ex papiro cum suis manticibus et plumbis* (*Archivio Veneto*, XXIII, 541).

[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, IV, 154.

at the Crociferi, who possessed an organ with four rows of pipes built in 1494 by Lorenzo da Pavia for Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary.[1]

The Republic also protected musical editors and printers. As early as May 25, 1498, Ottaviano de' Petrucci of Fossombrone obtained a patent for his invention of metal musical type[2] which was to supersede the earlier wood-blocks; and in 1501 he issued the collection known as *Harmonices musices Odhecaton*. Following in the footprints of Petrucci, we find the printers Luc' Antonio Giunta, Ottaviano and Girolamo Scoto, Melchiorre Sessa, Andrea Antico da Montona,[3] Marcolini and the Frenchman Antonio Gardane, who came to Venice in 1530 and perfected Petrucci's invention. In 1566 Claudio Merulo of Correggio, in partnership with Fausto Bethanio, opened a printing-press for figured music.[4] To add to the glory of Venice in the world of music, Gasparo Bertolotti, the artificer who perfected the violin and gave it its modern form, was born at Salò in Venetian territory, about 1542; he died at Brescia[5] on April 14, 1609, and was buried in the church of San Giuseppe, where more than a century later Benedetto Marcello found an honoured resting-place.[6] Agostino Agazzari is credited with having introduced the perfected violin into Venice in 1580.[7]

[1] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 379.

[2] Vernarecci, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, pp. 36, 120, 122. Fossombrone, 1882. Petrucci, *primo inventor de stampar libri de canto figurati*, entered into partnership with Amadio Scoto and Niccolò di Raffaele.

[3] Lo Zenatti (*Andrea Antico* in the *Arch. Stor. per Trieste*, Roma, 1881), wishes to prove that Andrea shares with Petrucci the merit of the invention.

[4] Canal, op. cit., p. 477.

[5] Livi, *Gasparo da Salò* (*Nuova Antologia*, Roma, Vol. XXXIV, fasc. XVI).

[6] "A dì 14 Aprile 1609. M. Gasparo di Bertolotti maestro de violini è morto et sepolto in S.to Joseffo." (Archivio Parr. di Sant'Agata in Brescia, Reg. Morti, I, c. 9). The same church contains the ashes of Costanzo Antignati, organ-builder and composer.

[7] Fapanni and Fantoni, *La Cappella Musicale* (in *La Basilica di San Marco*, p. 77. Venezia, Ongania).

But the fame of Venice in the region of music is due to the choir of San Marco, renowned throughout the whole world to such a degree that no other musical body in Italy can point to so splendid a heritage. The earliest master in the Ducal choir of whom we have any notice was the Fleming Pietro de Fossis (1491–1525).[1] He brought to Venice the complicated counterpoint of the Flemish school, which spread all over Europe and held its own till it was transformed and enlightened by the genius of Pierluigi Palestrina (1565). After de Fossis came the master Pietro Lupato for a brief period, and in 1527 Adriano Willaert of Bruges (b. 1480, d. 1562) was elected to the seat which he held for nearly thirty-five years, during which period he wrought the resuscitation of music in the lagoons. He reintroduced the antiphonic chanting of the Psalms, and paid great attention to unison; unlike his contemporaries he laid little stress on harmony and general effect; he endowed the cantata with freshness and lightness, and set it to instrumental accompaniments; he cultivated the madrigal in three, four, or more parts, and developed the canon and the fugue. Willaert — "the first of the moderns," as his famous pupil Zarlino calls him[2] — founded the Venetian School which rivalled the Roman, and is illustrated by such names as Jacques de Buus called Giacchetto, Ciprian van Rore, Zarlino, Baldassare da Imola, Costanzo Porta, Claudio Merulo, the Gabrieli, Vincenzo Bellavere, Giuseppe Guammi, — not all of equal merit, but one and all inspired by a desire to free sacred music from its artificial trammels, to endow it with emotional expression, to make it the precursor of the musical drama. Among the Venetian masters of this period the most celebrated were the two Gabrieli, uncle

[1] Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, I, 39.

[2] *Suppl. musicali del Rev. M. Giuseppe Zarlino da Chioggia già Maestro di Capella della Sereniss. Signoria*, p. 326. Venetia, 1588.

and nephew, Andrea (d. 1586) and Giovanni (d. 1612), and Giuseppe Zarlino, who was born at Chioggia in 1517[1] and died in Venice in 1590, Chapel Master to the Doge.[2] Zarlino was not merely a graceful composer; he also published the *Istituzioni*, the *Dissertazioni armoniche*, and the *Supplementi musicali*, which at once established his position as the profoundest student of counterpoint and the undisputed authority on this subject, though he countervened the astronomico-musical theories of Ptolemy. We must not omit to mention Fra Dionisio Memmo, who met with a warm reception in foreign parts. In 1516 he went to London with *uno bellissimo istrumento de sonar* (an organ). The skill he displayed before King Henry VIII, the queen, and the court aroused such enthusiasm that he was not allowed to depart, and he was called on to play at court festivals, where the king himself danced to the music of the friar.[3]

The Cappella Marciana was placed under the supervision of the Procuratori di San Marco, who attended to the minutest details; the documents show us the length to which the diligence of these magistrates would go; they insisted on the regular dusting of the organs so that those noble instruments should always play their best; they waged war on mice *che andavano a dissipare gli organi, mangiando canne e soatti* (leather) *e buttarli in malora*.[4] The Procuratori were so careful of the good order and discipline of the choir that they

[1] It has been held that Zarlino was born in 1522; 1517 is the more probable date. See Bellimo, *Giuseppe Zarlino*. Chioggia, 1884.

[2] "1565, 5 luglio — Pier Jseppo Zarlino eletto maestro di capella per anni doi fermi et tre di rispetto . . . Sia obligato insegnare canto figurato, contraponto e canto fermo a tutti li Zaghi della Chiesa saranno atti a riuscir nella musica" (Arch. di Stato, Atti Procur. *de supra, Decr. e Term.*, Vol. 7). Zarlino carried on a heated discussion about counterpoint with Vincenzo Galilei, the Florentine. V. Galilei, *Discorso intorno alle opere di messer Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia*. Fiorenza, Marescotti, 1589.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXIII, 126, 173, 176.

[4] Arch. di Stato, Procur. *de supra, Capitolare*.

absolutely forbade the members to sing in other churches or to accept engagements at private houses. On November 28, 1564, the magistrates complain of the "poca cura che tengono gli organisti della Chiesa di San Marco i quali lasciavano molte volte di suonar si nelle messe, come alli vesperi essi organi, mandando molte volte persone giovani e poco pratiche a sonar quelli per andar loro a sonare in altri luochi; che è con poco decoro di essa chiesa"; and they establish a fine of two ducats for each time that an organist fails in his duty.[1] This seems too severe a punishment, especially if we remember that the two masters implicated were no other than Annibale of Padua, so famous as an organist that he was invited to France, and Claudio Merulo of Correggio (1533–1604),[2] who had carried off the post of organist at San Marco against nine competitors, and whose fame in Venice was already firmly established by the publication of his Mottets and Madrigals, which were applauded in musical academies and private houses alike. But the rigid and meticulous severity with which the Procuratori discharged their duties was fully justified by the width of their views which led them to engage and pay handsomely the most famous masters, musicians, and singers that could be found in Italy or abroad. Their object was to secure a world-wide reputation for Venetian music and to compel foreign musicians who visited Venice to bear public witness to its worth. Sanudo records, under

[1] Caffi, op. cit., I, 30.

[2] The portrait of Claudio Merulo in the gallery of the Liceo Musicale at Bologna is a weak production of the Correggiesque school; it has the following inscription:

DIVS MERULUS CORRIGIENSIS ANNO AETATE LXXII–1604.

But from the baptismal registers of San Quirino at Correggio it appears that Merulo was born on April 8, 1533, and died May 4, 1604. He was therefore seventy-one years and twenty-six days old, not seventy-two. The picture may have been painted after Affò had communicated to Tiraboschi a letter from Alessandro Volpino in which occurs this passage, "l'esequie le fece fare il Duca del suo e lo fece incoronare di lauro e di hedera." Tiraboschi published the letter in his *Biblioteca modenese*.

Musical Concerts in Venetian Houses — from a painting, "Il Ricco Epulone," by Bonifacio de' Pitati. (Venice, Royal Academy)

date May 12, 1519: "Luni, nel qual zorno si fa la solennità di San Marcho. Il vicedoxe, con l'orator di Franza e con li altri deputati di andar al pasto (the banquet), fo a la messa in chiexia di San Marcho, dove son sei cantori di la Cappella del Re Christianissimo, venuti qui et vanno a Loreto: e cantano benissimo, vestono di bianco. Fo sonato e cantato excelentissimamente, et poi etiam andono a disnar in palazzo."[1] It would seem that the French singers enjoyed a high reputation, for in 1597 Piero Duodo, ambassador in France, was commissioned to engage some deep basses of great power for the Ducal choir.[2]

Music was the delight of the many societies founded for that purpose, and the houses of the nobility saw frequent assemblies to listen to virtuosi who gave performances on the clavier, organ, lute, lyre, harp, cithern, horn, and flute.[3] The choir and musicians of San Marco were frequently engaged for these concerts, and famous singers and performers, like Marco dall' Aquila, the incomparable lutanist, who had published his *tabullatura et rasone de metter ogni canto in liuto*,[4] in 1505, or Franceschina Bellamano the Venetian, or the Cieco d'Adria, and his countrywoman Alessandra Lardi[5] were constantly to be heard. *Fantasie*, *ricercari*, and the *contrappunti* in three voices by Willaert,

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XVII, 131.

[2] The Stefani library, now dispersed, contained a document of December 23, 1597, giving the names and salaries of French singers: "Zuanne Grisard cantor soprano francese con salario de ducati cento all'anno. Pietro Peren cantor basso francese con salario de ducati cento all'anno."

[3] Burckhardt, *La civiltà*, etc., cit., II, 159–164.

[4] Vernarecci, op. cit., p. 89.

[5] Fapanni and Fantoni, op. cit., p. 79. In the Italian poems of Caio Caloria Porzio, a Sicilian writer of the fifteenth century, we find a long list of lutanists, singers, and organists. See Rossi, Vitt., *Caio Caloria Porzio* (*Arch. Stor. Siciliano*, p. 257). Ortensio Lando (*Sette libri di cathaloghi*, etc., p. 510. Vinegia, 1552) gives the following list of musicians: "Verdeloto francese fu ne'suoi giorni raro. Adriano, fiamengo, musico in San Marco di Vinegia . . . Il Rota padovano tocca . . . il liuto con dotta mano. Pietro Parissone, gentilissimo musico, vive, canta et suona nell'alma patria di Vinegia. Jaques (de Buus) francese, miraculoso nell'instrumento da

were in great vogue; so too the *madrigali* of the Belgian Filippo Verdelot, singer in San Marco, of Giacomo Arcadelt,[1] of the Pontifical choir, of Francesco de Anna, organist in San Marco,[2] the *ricercari* and *toccate* of Girolamo Parabosco, of Annibale Padovano, and of Claudio Merulo, the *canzoni* of Giovanni Gabrieli. In the home of the artist and the citizen no less than in the palaces of the great, music was a constant occurrence; and when Anne de Candale, Queen of Hungary, came to Venice in 1502, the young sovereign, *bella, piccola, e dolze nel parlar*, with a taste for every form of intellectual pleasure, not only was so delighted with a Cantata by de Fossis that she insisted on carrying off the manuscript as a memento, but she went so far as to ignore the exigencies of her rank, and paid a visit to the house of a certain Vianello at Cannaregio *dove era musiche di ogni sorte*.[3] The salons of the patrician

penna et esperto nella musica cromatica. Cipriano Rore, dotto compositore nella musica. Matteo della viola, honor d'Urbino in cotal arte, avanza ogni altro di cotal professione. Hippolito Trommanzino habita in Vinegia, et è per la sua virtù molto amato. Giulio Cipriotto insegna musica in Rovigo, havendola prima insegnata in Vinegia. Girolamo Parabosco, piacentino, musico perfetto et suonatore d'organi in S. Marco in Vinegia. Franceschina Bellamano, Polissena Peccorina, Polissena, Frigera, Hippolita dei Putti c'hora serve la duchessa di Ferrara."

[1] Fétis, *Biogr. univers. des musiciens*, VIII, 319, I, 127. Paris, 1865.

[2] Petrucci, *Frottole musicali*. Venezia, 1503. As a specimen of a madrigal we quote the following, set to music by De Anna:

La luce di questi occhi tristi manca,
Le forze aggio perduto e n'esce il fiato;
L'alma di lamentarsi ormai è stanca,
Lo core di sospiri è consumato:
Pallida è fatta la mia carne bianca,
Non son più come fui per lo passato;
Vieni tu, morte, e l'anima mi franca,
Poichè nel sogno di cui anno manca.

Capelli, in a volume of the *Collezione di curiosità letterarie* (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1868) reproduces in facsimile the music of this madrigal. It is unaccompanied, and is written for four voices, soprano, contralto, tenor, and bass, in four *parti reali* and in *presto*. The air is a touching lullaby, with a simplicity of development quite free from the contrapuntal artifices so much in vogue at that date.

[3] Sanudo, *Diari*, IV, 295, 296, 298.

poet Domenico Veniero were open not only to the learned, but also to musical societies in whose concerts Girolamo Parabosco, for example, organist of San Marco since 1551, when he succeeded Jacques de Buus, and the famous singer and virtuosa Bellamano, and Master Cambio Perison, would take a part. On the death of Perison, Veniero wrote one of those usual sonnets playing on his name; it begins:

> Quando egual cambio a noi fia dato
> Di sì gran cambio?

And Monsignor Fenarolo answers in the same vein:

> In un punto *perì son* sì pregiato
> E 'n sua vece mandò tristi lamenti
> (Duro *cambio*) il mar d'Adria in ogni lato.

The concerts in the house of Antonio Zantani, a connoisseur of painting, carving, embroidery, collector of antique coins, and author of a book on the medals of the Cæsars, published in 1548 with engravings by Enea Vico, made him famous in his day. He was among the most conspicuous of the patricians for generosity and splendour of living, and was especially blessed in having for his wife Elena Barozzi, one of the most beautiful and virtuous ladies of the time, and famous for the unrequited affection she inspired in Lorenzino de' Medici. Orazio Toscanella dedicated a volume to Zantani in these terms: "È pur notissimo ch'ella s'è di musica in guisa dilettata che lungo tempo pagò la compagnia de' *Fabbretti* et *Fruttaruoli*, cantatori et sonatori eccellentissimi, i quali facevano in casa le musiche rarissime, et tenne anco pagato a questo effetto Giulio dal Prestino, sonator di liuto senza pari. Ove correvano Girolamo Parabosco, Annibale, organista di San Marco, Claudio da Correggio, organista di San Marco, Baldassare Donato, Perissone, Francesco Laudorit, detto il Greco, ed altri musici di fama immortale."[1] The

[1] Toscanella, *I nomi antichi e moderni delle provincie, regioni, città, castella, monti, laghi, fiumi, golfi, porti ed isole dell'Europa, dell'Africa et dell'Asia, con le gradnazioni loro in lunghezza e larghezza*, etc. Venetiis, 1567.

pallid countenance of Lorenzino de' Medici was often to be seen amid the elegant crowd that thronged the salons of Casa Zantani at San Tomà. In order to be nearer to the lady of his affections, Lorenzino had left his lodging hard by San Giobbe in Cannaregio, and occupied a palace on the Rio San Polo.[1]

While the severer music in the *ballate*, *cobbole*, *canzonette*, *rispetti*, and *madrigali* held the salons of its aristocratic patrons, chamber music, hitherto choked by the pedantry of the Flemish school, sprang to new life in the open air of the streets in the light rhythms and brilliant motifs of popular song, *strambotti*, *frottole*, *villanelle*, *serenate* on the Grand Canal, or in the mysterious shadow of the small canals, where wooers sang the songs that Bembo wrote in 1507 to recall his early loves.[2] The rural quiet of the villas on the mainland and along the banks of the Brenta gave birth to the simple airs of the *rispetti* and the *villotte*, of which we have examples in the collections of Francesco Portinaro, Cambio Perison, Costantino Porta, and the Bolognese Filippo Azzaiolo.[3]

Music played no small part in the early liturgical dramas and the mysteries, and in the development of the stage during the period of the Renaissance it kept its place, either as the accompaniment to lyrical passages or as *intermezzi* or interludes in the dramatic action. We have an example in *Le Troiane* of Lodovico Dolce, which was given in 1566 with musical interludes by Claudio Merulo. The innovation did not meet with unanimous approval, and Trissino complains that the music distracted the attention from the

[1] The house at San Tomà, belonging to the Zantani or Centani, was the birthplace of Carlo Goldoni in 1701. In the sixteenth century it was owned by the citizen family of Rizzo. Lorenzino was stabbed by assassins hired by Duke Cosimo, on Sunday, February 26, 1548, as he was leaving the church of San Polo. Ferrai, *Lorenzino de' Medici*, p. 347 *et passim*. Gauthiez, *Lorenzaccio*, p. 352. Paris, 1904.

[2] Bongi, *Ann. di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, I, 225. Roma, 1890.

[3] Fantoni, *Storia universale del canto*, I, 140. Milano, 1873.

excellences of the play; but the idea was at once accepted at the Ducal Palace, where it had always been the custom to enliven official banquets by concerts and recitations, — in 1485 we hear of Cassandra Fedele improvising in Latin before the Doge Agostino Barbarigo. After the middle of the Cinquecento the State banquets included allegories and pastorals in which the new idea of a musical accompaniment was adopted. The *Catalogo*[1] of Antonio Groppo records the names of several of these performances between the years 1571 and 1605. In the *Trionfo di Cristo per la vittoria contro i turchi*, which was given in 1571 before the Doge Alvise Mocenigo, the author, Celio Magno, introduces David, a choir of angels, Saint Peter, Saint James, Saint Mark, Saint Giustina, and the archangel Gabriel. David compares his deeds with those of Venice; the heavenly choir chants the glory of the victory and the praises of Saint Giustina, on whose day the battle of Lepanto was fought: Saint Peter lauds Pius V; Saint James extols Philip II, and Saint Mark his own Republic, while Gabriele closes the spectacle with a hymn to the Trinity:

> A Dio lode, a Dio lode, a Cristo, a Cristo,
> A lo Spirito Santo eterna gloria.[2]

In 1574 Giuseppe Zarlino set to music some Latin verses of Cornelio Frangipane, in praise of Henry III; they were sung on board the Bucentaur as it took the royal guest up the Grand Canal. Claudio Merulo wrote the music for another composition of Frangipane's which he calls a tragedy,[3] not because there was anything tragic about the subject, but because the poet felt that only the lofty tragic style was adequate to the grandeur of Henry III, to whom the work was dedicated.

[1] *Catalogo di drammi per musica recitata nei teatri di Venezia.* Venezia, 1746.

[2] *Trionfo di Christo per la vittoria contra Turchi, rappresentato al serenissimo Principe di Venezia il dì di San Stefano.* Venetia, 1571.

[3] *Tragedia del S. C. Cornelio Frangipani al christianissimo et invitissimo Henrico III*, etc. Venetia, Farri, 1574.

The characters were Mars, Pallas, Mercury, Isis, Proteus, with choruses of Amazons and soldiers, and the performance took place in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, and was acted by the company of the *Gelosi*, who were brought on purpose by the government from Milan, where they were taking part in the reception given in honour of Don John of Austria. The solos and part songs were set to the sweetest melodies, and the "tragedy" proved a complete success in spite of the fact that there was some confusion on the stage, owing to the great number of the actors. The performances of the *Gelosi* which Henry attended, even in some private palaces, gave, as we know, the greatest satisfaction to the king.

We have other spectacles with choruses of nymphs, tritons, and deities of mythology who sang and danced; they belong to the close of the sixteenth century and were given before the Doges Niccolò da Ponte and Marino Grimani, — little compositions in verse and music, ending usually in compliments to the Doge and to Venice. Moderata Fonte (Modesta Pozzo-Zorzi) in 1581 wrote one called *Le Feste*. The dying year takes his leave; in his train are the Feste, who pay their respects to the Prince in verses set to pleasant airs. First one chorus begins, then a second replies, then both together end thus:

> Et in qual loco mai
> Trouiam miglior ricetto
> Ch'in questo? I giorni qui felici e gai
> Rendon doppio diletto;
> Qui come in Paradiso
> Con virtù regna pace e festa e riso.

On which an Epicurean observes that, in fact, there is nothing in the world worth having but *feste* and *giuochi*; and a Stoic retorts that, on the contrary, nothing is good but virtue, — that pleasure is an ephemeral flower, merely a

> Nido di serpi venenosi e rei.

The chorus, however, will not hear of croaking, and congratulates the Prince on his splendid receptions and his magnificent villa on the Brenta. The Stoic goes on grumbling about virtue and the *summum bonum*, while the chorus raises a hymn to Venice, *albergo delle Grazie*. The Erythrean Sibyl then appears, and prophesies long and glorious days for the Doge, and remarks to the Stoic that pleasure in moderation is an element in good, and to the Epicurean that happiness is not to be found in pleasure alone. The dialogue is modern in form, but in substance recalls the disputes between reason and the senses, virtue and vice, which formed the stock subject of the Mysteries. Venice understood better than any other city that the Stoic in despising pleasures and the Epicurean who devoted his life to them were equally in the wrong, and that perfection lay in a just balance between the real and the ideal. In short, both philosophers are convinced by the Sibyl, and while they render thanks for enlightenment the chorus sings:

> Ben raddoppiar la festa
> Si dee, ch'uscito è fuore
> Lo Stoico e in un l'Epicureo d'errore.

Poetry appears, and pays compliments to the Prince, the *Collegio*, the beautiful city; and the performance ends with this song:

> Lieti dì, felici feste
> Senza cosa che v'annoi,
> La bontà del Re celeste
> V'apra ogni anno, o chiari Eroi,
> E per mille etadi, e poi
> Ogni gratia e ben ui preste
> Lieti dì, felici feste.

In these cantatas, where the music had no relation to the dramatic action, but where polyphonic structure gradually yields to monody, we get the germ of the modern opera.[1] They represent the earliest tentative

[1] Wagner, *Opera e dramma*, trans. by Toschi, I, 26. Torino, 1894.

seeking for the new artistic form; mere sketches like the *Amfiparnaso*, a string of madrigals for five voices set as a kind of comic opera on a pastoral theme written by Orazio Vecchi, given at Modena in 1594 and published in Venice in 1597. Vecchi was the court musician at Modena, and the inscription on his tomb, quoted by Tiraboschi, praises him as the inventor of musical drama.[1] But in these early and hesitating attempts the music is never the interpreter of the words; the glory of having invented or at least written the first musical drama in the true sense of the word, where verse and music are fused in one harmonious whole, belongs to Ottavio Rinuccini the Florentine, author of the *Dafne*,[2] set to music by Jacopo Peri and then by Giulio Caccini, rehearsed between 1594 and 1599, and finally given that year in the Palazzo Corsi at Florence, in the presence of the Grand Duchess, to the music of Jacopo Corsi.

[1] Tiraboschi, Vol. VII, Part V, p. 1783.

[2] The *Dafne* of Ottavio Rinuccini, *rappresentata alla Serenissima Gran Duchessa di Toscana dal signor Jacopo Corsi*. Firenze, appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1600. See Solerti, *L'origine del melodramma*, pp. 40 et seq. Torino, 1903. Biaggi, *La musica del secolo XVI* (in *La Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento*, Lectures, III, 583. Milano, 1894).

CHAPTER XI

PALACES AND HOUSES — THE GARDENS OF MURANO AND THE VILLAS ON THE MAINLAND

THE public life of a people is displayed in its national monuments; its private life is recorded in its dwellings, its household goods, its furniture. The growth of the artistic spirit and the refinement of taste leave their traces on the private chamber no less than on the public building. In Venice the internal arrangement and fittings of the houses were in accord with the sumptuous architectural display of their façades; the chambers of a Venetian house lack the imprint of privacy and comfort, and are clearly intended for splendid entertainment rather than for the placid enjoyment of family life. In the winter time the inhabitants had to occupy lofty rooms, full of draughts from the windows, only half warmed by the great fireplaces in whose chimneys the wind howled, and, leaving them, they passed into the vast hall cold as the open street. The furniture, which plays so large a part in the family life, was decorative rather than useful; the great salons offered but a chilly home for the domestic affections, and were better suited to their destined end, — receptions, banquets, concerts, and balls.

In the period with which we are dealing, the passage from the governing ideas of the Middle Ages to those of the Renaissance is completed. Ostentation rules supreme, and the apartments of Venetian palaces assume an ever-growing splendour. "Ne sono infinite

case, con camere indorate de ducati 800 in suso,"[1] says Sanudo; while Francesco Sansovino adds: "quanto alle suppellettili et alle ricchezze incredibili delle case, è cosa impossibile pensarlo, non chè scriverla a pieno . . . Et nel vero, non si veggono in parte alcuna edifici nè più agiati, nè più raccolti, nè più acconci per lo uso umano di questi."[2] Giacomo Franco bears like witness. "Le fabbriche di questa città maravigliose," he says, "si apprestano a gli occhi di chi le mirano di fuori. Ma viste di dentro apportano maggior stupore e maraviglia per essere ornate in modo così bello e prezioso, che se si volesse raccontare potria parer menzogna."[3] The Fuggers of Augsburg, at that time considered the richest family in the world, — so rich that they could make a present of a million of florins to Charles V., — kept one of their members at Venice to attend to their affairs; but the sumptuousness with which he fitted up his apartment in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, where he received a visit from Henry VIII, caused no amazement to the Venetians, who were quite accustomed to similar luxury.

The arch of the entrance usually displayed the family coat-of-arms on the keystone, and the doors themselves were of carved woodwork, often carrying one of those handsome bronze knockers (*battaòri*) which are nowadays in great request. The majority of houses built in the Renaissance period had handsome courtyards, like the Cornaro Palace at San Maurizio, which by the richness of their architectural detail announced the splendours of the interior. In the older palaces the courtyard was enclosed by a wall covered with frescoes[4] and crowned by battlements, as is the case in Casa Foscari, and set about with *delitiose piante e*

[1] Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 31.
[2] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 381.
[3] Franco, *Habiti*, cit.
[4] Boschini and Ridolfi note many courtyards whose walls were decorated by famous painters.

Entrance of the Palazzo Grimani at Sa. Maria Formosa, attributed to Sammicheli

verzure,[1] or else laid out as a veritable garden with vases, urns, and statues. Among Venetian gardens famous for their beauty, their temples, fountains, and exotic plants brought even from the Orient, we must mention the garden of the Procurator Tommaso Contarini, at the Madonna dell'Orto, of the Grimani at Santa Caterina, of Andrea Pasqualigo at San Basilio, of Leonardo Moro at San Girolamo, of Giacomo Contarini at San Samuele, of Agostino Amadi at Santa Croce, of Erizzo at San Canciano, of the Michiel at SS. Gervasio e Protasio, of the Buono at Sant' Angelo, of Alessandro Vittoria at the Bragora, of the Morosini at San Canciano, from which the *del Giardino*[2] branch of the family took its name. There was another type of entrance to the houses of the rich; there the land and water doors faced each other and gave access to a large hall with an open beam roof.[3] In the earlier times such an entrance hall would be filled with bales of merchandise and with parcels of spices, while on the walls would hang arms and cuirasses; in the period of which we are now speaking the decoration consisted of great gilded lanterns belonging to the galleys, swords and scimitars and rapiers arranged in stars, trophies of halberds, their shafts covered with crimson velvet and brass nails with fringes of red silk and with highly polished blades engraved with the names of victories.

The staircases of public buildings were constructed with regal magnificence; for example, the great outside staircase of the Ducal Palace, known as the Scala dei Giganti. Nor were the inside staircases less splendid; for instance, the Scala d'oro in the Ducal Palace,

1 Scoto, *Itinerario*.

2 Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 384. Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 898.

3 "Quasi tutte le caxe, *maxime* di conto (perhò che, oltra il canal grando, bellissime ne sono per le contrade), hanno riva et porta da terra; perhò che sono infiniti et quasi *sine numero*, rij, cussì chiamati di aqua, che si partono dal canal grando, et vanno per diverse contrade." Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 31.

designed by Antonio Abbondi, called Scarpagnino, and adorned with stuccoes by Vittoria and paintings by Battista Franco; or Sansovino's staircase in the Library, also stuccoed by Vittoria and painted by Franco and Giuseppe Dal Moro; or the staircases of the Scuola di San Marco, the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, and the Scuola di San Rocco. On the contrary, in most of the private houses, owing either to lack of room or to the desire to economise space, the staircases were narrow and poor. It required genius in an architect to design such a masterpiece as the spiral staircase of the Palazzo Contarini. The landings of the staircases were adorned with busts and antiques. From the first landing a number of chambers, divided by partition walls and therefore called *mezzà* or *amezzadi*, opened away. These served as offices where the business of the family was conducted. The flight of steps continued to the highly decorated first floor, or *piano nobile*, where one entered first the great hall, or *portego*, also furnished with trophies of arms, damascened bucklers, standards, and banners.[1] The doors, with mouldings in precious marbles, led to the various lofty and decorated apartments, the reception and drawing rooms, each one of which would make a suite by itself. The floors were still made of scagiola (*terrazzo*) in which the richest Oriental marbles[2] were employed; though occasionally they used decorative tiles such as those to be seen in the Lando Chapel at San Sebastiano. The windows were fitted with roundels of bottle glass, set in lead, and sometimes had painted coats of arms or figures or designs such as Gerolamo Mocetto executed for the transept of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. While in many other countries the windows were still fitted with panes

[1] Grevii, *Thesaurus antiq. et hist. Italiae*, V, vi.

[2] "Non si vede cosa, per secoli, nè più bella, nè più gentile, nè più durabile di questa; conciossiachè si mantengono col fregarli spesso con spugna, o un panno, e chi li desidara lustri lungamente, li cuopre con tele per non macchiarli in caminando." Sansovino, p. 383.

Upper Landing of the Stairway of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Venice

Photo by Naya

of paper or bleached oil cloth, in Venice they had already adopted sashes of white glass, which were to be met with not only in the dwellings of the rich, but in humbler abodes, "con meraviglia dei forastieri," as Sansovino says: "poichè in questa parte sola si comprende ricchezza infinita, la quale esce tutta dalle fornaci di Murano."

Among the most sumptuously decorated houses of this date we find special mention of the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi at SS. Ermagora e Fortunato, rich in columns of Oriental jasper, with fireplaces in black marble and doors of intarsia; the Palazzo Tiepolo at Sant' Apollinare, famous for its chimney-pieces of Greek marble, its cornices of verd-antique, its ceilings in stucco and gold; the Palazzo Foscari at San Barnaba; the houses of the Cornaro at San Maurizio, of the Foscarini at the Carmini, which contained a collection of antiques; of the Grimani at San Luca, at Santa Maria Formosa; of the Dolfin at San Salvatore; and of the Trevisan on the Rio di Canonica, whose chambers hung with painted silks aroused the admiration of Mario Sforza, Florentine ambassador at the time of the marriage of Bianca Cappello with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The so-called *camera d'oro* in the Palazzo Cornaro had a mantel-piece supported by gilded caryatides, the walls hung with cloth of gold, and a gilded cornice estimated at the value of eighteen thousand ducats. Still fuller details enable us to reconstruct the apartments in the Palazzo Foscari. The house was bought by the Republic, in 1429, for sixty-five hundred ducats, equal to ten thousand pounds, and given to the treacherous Duke of Mantua; but ten years later it was taken from him and given to Francesco Sforza, who in his turn forfeited it on account of his dubious conduct. It was then put up at auction, and was bought by the Doge Francesco Foscari, about 1447; he remodelled it, and added a story. It was gradually

adorned with paintings by Giambellino, Titian, Paris Bordon, Tintoretto, and Veronese, who painted an *Aurora* on the ceiling of one of the rooms and designed the mosaic floor of another. When it was redecorated for the reception of Henry III, the vestibule was hung with tapestry, and a blue cloth sown with stars formed the ceiling. Upstairs, on the first floor, the three bedrooms reserved for the king give us some idea of the length to which sumptuous elegance was carried. The first had a great chimney-piece in precious marbles, and a table of black marble with a green velvet table-cloth; the hangings were of cloth of gold and crimson silk, relieved by stripes of cloth of silver wrought in gold with figures and monograms; the carpet was of crimson velvet with cloth of gold border; a gilded armchair under a cloth of gold canopy stood by the bed, whose sheets were embroidered on the hem and round the outside with gold thread and crimson silk. The furniture of the second chamber was similar, only the hangings were of blue satin semé of fleur-de-lys, relieved with strips of yellow satin. The third chamber, the one selected by the king, was hung with gold and green brocade, the gilded bed had curtains of crimson silk, the chair and canopy were in cloth of gold, and the table was of alabaster.[1]

The houses of the nobles were adorned with hangings in damask or *soprarizzi* or other silks; they were sometimes gilded or set with precious stones, or covered with stamped leather, or with tapestries — usually from abroad. Paintings by the great masters hung on the walls. The ceilings, as in the Middle Ages, were divided into gilded panels with rosettes or bosses in low relief, or else with figures painted on them as in the Miracoli, or the Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano. The ceilings of the Ducal Palace were designed by Palladio, Vittoria, Serlio, and Daniele

[1] De Nolhac and Solerti, op. cit., p. 109.

Sala del Maggior Consiglio — Ducal Palace

Photo by Alinari

Barbaro, and painted by the greatest masters. The system of carved and gilded beams, called *alla Sansovina,* whose heads rested on wooden brackets carved with acanthus leaves, was in common use. The ceiling of the Maggior Consiglio, reconstructed after the fire of 1577, by Da Ponte, was designed by the Veronese Cristoforo Sorte to take the place of the old gilded ceiling in square plaques. Sorte's design comprised twenty-nine divisions, which were filled in with paintings by Veronese, Tintoretto, the younger Palma, and Francesco Bassano. Round the walls on each side of Tintoretto's *Paradiso,* Aliense, Veronese, Domenico Tintoretto, Palma, Marco Vecellio, Andrea Vicentino, Giulio Dal Moro, Paolo Fiammingo, Francesco and Leandro Bassano, Giovanni Le Clerc, Girolamo Gambarato, Federico Zuccheri, painted the martial achievements of the Republic. Jacopo Tintoretto and his pupils were responsible for the cornice containing the portraits of the Doges from Obelerio Antenoreo (804) to Francesco Venier (1554). In the other chambers of the Ducal Palace — the *Pregadi, delle Quattro Porte*, the *Anticollegio* and the *Collegio* — the ceilings, doors, and chimney-pieces are the work of Sansovino, Palladio, and Vittoria, the masters of Venetian decoration. The chamber *dei Scarlatti* is a model of this style. The ceiling was designed by Scarpagnino with rosettes on a blue ground enclosed in a border. The fireplace has a graceful design of leaves, chimeras, sirens, and cupids, the work of the Lombardi; it was finished under the Doge Agostino Barbarigo between 1486 and 1501. Other fine chimney-pieces are to be found elsewhere in the Ducal Palace and in private houses.

Very few specimens of hangings, furniture, or stuffs have come down to us; they have been damaged, or

[1] So called because the magistrates, for the most part in scarlet robes, awaited the Doge in this chamber.

destroyed by time or by the carelessness of man, or scattered to foreign lands. To help us in the reconstruction of the sumptuous apartments of Venice during our period, we have only certain written documents, a scrap or two of stuff saved from the ruin, and, above all, the paintings of Carpaccio, Diana, and Mansueti, which introduce us to the houses of the great, where the austerity of the Middle Ages is tempered by the grace of the Renaissance. It is this faithful representation of the fusion of two styles which renders the same pictures authorities on the fittings and the furniture of both periods, which show us a continuous evolution of taste gradually transforming the furniture and fittings of the house, thanks to the application of art to industry. At the close of the Middle Ages the tendency to sumptuousness in furniture became more and more marked; and Conte Jacopo di Porcia in his book *De Reipublicæ Venetæ administratione*, printed at Treviso about 1492, declares, not without a note of disapproval: "Quid multa et varia domestica ornamenta proferam? Quid pretiosam illam argenti et auri supellectilem? Quid aulæa et omnia stragulorum genera, quibus domus vestræ penitus renident? In quibus adeo modum exceditis, ut cuius libet Veneti privati supellex, amplissimam domum regiam exornare posset?" In the houses of the rich the doorways, which had hitherto been hung with curtains embroidered with sacred or profane subjects,[1] were now fitted with doors carved or inlaid in exquisite taste. From the windows hung rich stuffs and curtains of gilded or painted silk; in every direction the minutest articles of household service received their share of artistic treatment, from the fire irons on the hearth to the shanks and heads of the

[1] Sanudo (*Diari*, XI, 758) speaks of *do antiporte d'oro a ago soprarizzo* and of others *d'oro di seda* belonging to Cardinal Grimani, and *un antiporta de razo d'una figura di Nostra Donna resada de seda et horo*, is mentioned in the will of Alvise Malipiero, dated June 17, 1536, quoted by Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 418.

Fireplace in the Room of the Scarlatti
with the Barbarigo Arms

nails. In the corners of the rooms were baskets filled with flowers and scented herbs, and metal chafing-dishes in pierced and chiselled bronze for burning scents, called *profumeghi*. The desires, needs, and caprices of the rich stimulated the fancy of the artificer to invent ever new forms for furniture, beds, cupboards, settles, coffers, prie-dieux, stools, armchairs, high-backed chairs with elaborate carving, seats covered in tapestry or in stamped leather or velvet fastened with nails of gilded bronze. Two pieces of furniture may be recorded as being essentially and peculiarly Venetian, — the *soaza* and the *restello*, neither of them to be met with among the furnishings of other Italian cities. The *soaza* was a kind of bracket hung on the wall, and meant to carry household objects; under the bracket was pinned a strip of damask. The *restello* was an object of a more defined form; no trace of one has come down to us, nor do we know of a *restello* represented in any contemporary painting, but Gustav Ludwig, by the help of documents, has successfully reconstructed the form of this piece of domestic furniture. The habit of pinning papers and hanging utensils on nails and hooks fastened to shelves and to *soaze* led to the invention of a large plaque, divided into three compartments, called a *restello*, and frequently adorned with pictures. The artist Vincenzo Catena mentions in his will a *restelo de nogera chon zerte figurete dentro dipinte de mano de miser Zuan belino*.[1]

A sense of noble refinement was in the atmosphere; a sumptuous yet versatile taste enveloped every detail of domestic life. The great tables of carved walnut bore in charming confusion goblets from Murano, jars, pottery, majolica, copper plates wrought in relief or enamelled in a hundred hues, gold and silver vases, beakers and flagons studded with gems, damascened swords, medals, seals, cups of jasper, ewers, tambours,

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, p. 259.

lutes. The taste for the antique was fully aroused, and on the *soaze*, supported by carved brackets, stood statuettes of exquisite grace, fantastic animals in bronze, and other masterpieces of Greek and Latin art. Hanging from the roofs or attached to the walls were Oriental lamps of bronze, either gilded or worked in niello, or chased or enamelled; lanterns adorned with spiral columns and fitted with coloured glass.[1] Nor was this luxury of furnishing confined to the reception rooms; it spread to the ordinary dwelling-rooms and especially to the bedrooms; the heavy hangings of the alcove would allow a glimpse of pictures on the walls, — Venus, and female nudes, and subjects suggestive of lascivious delights. Sometimes the alcove stood in the middle of the room, supported on gilded columns or caryatides, and covered the beds adorned with delicate carving[2] or painted by celebrated masters.[3] The bed-clothes were of the most sumptuous kind, — sheets, with insertions of the finest lace,[4] bed-quilts of damask with gold fringes,[5] *coperti de aurea maiestate*, as Pietro writes in 1541.[6] Casola, whom we have already quoted, on entering a bedchamber in a Venetian palace, is struck dumb with amazement, and cannot express his feelings *se non con lo strenzere delle spalle*. "Se extimava," he

[1] For specimens see the Museo Civico. Lazari, *Notizia delle opere d'arte e d'antichità della Raccolta Correr*, No. 938.

[2] Several types of beds are represented in the illustrations to the *Hypnerotomachia*.

[3] The so-called *Casa dei Proverbi* at the SS. Apostoli had, even at the opening of the last century, according to Cicogna, a bedroom of the Cinquecento still intact. The bedstead was painted by an artist of the Bellini school. The house was demolished in 1840. It took its name from these two proverbs carved on its façade: *Chi semina spine non vadi discalzo*, and *Dì de ti e poi di me dirai*.

[4] See Appendix, Doc. B.

[5] It was the custom to bequeath to churches a certain amount of these household belongings. For example, in 1536 Alvise Malipiero left to the convent of Santa Maria Maggiore all his *tapezarie de raso et de scarlato e tutti li tappeti* and his *fornimento da letto de damaschin limousin*. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 418.

[6] Contarini, *Argo Vulgar*, Lib. I. Venezia, tip. de Fortis, s. a.

Courtyard at the Entrance of the Palazzo Cornaro at S. Maurizio

says, "lo ornamento della camera dove eravamo fosse costato undici mila ducati e meglio. E non passava però de longhezza el loco XII braza. Haveva uno camino tutto de marmoro de Carrara lucente como l'auro, lavorato tanto subtilmente de figure e de fogliame, che Prassiteles ne Fidia li potrebbero adjungere. El celo de la camera quanto fosse ben lavorato de auro e de azuro ultramarino, e la pariete tanto bene lavorata che io non lo posso riferire. Una lectera sola extimata zinquecento ducati, e il mobile de la camera a la Veneziana; tante belle figure e naturali e tanto auro per tutto."[1] The law was powerless to keep expenditure within bounds; for example, the decree of 1476 which limited the amount that might be spent on a single chamber — *fra legnami, ori e pitture* — to one hundred and fifty golden ducats, and the many subsequent laws prohibiting hangings of cloth of gold or silver or silk, canopies of gold, silver, or velvet, and even damascened andirons.[2]

Venetian houses often had private chapels richly decorated; we believe that one of these chapels is represented in a picture by Carpaccio in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni. Carpaccio, in painting for us the private life of Venice, has preserved with charming veracity the spirit of the Middle Ages passing over into the full bloom of the Renaissance, and his work has all the value of a minute inventory. In this picture we have a chamber in a Venetian house; on the wall facing us is a niche adorned with mosaics enshrining an altar whose lower part serves as a cupboard; on the shelves are the thurible, the ampulla, the surplice. The altar itself bears a statue of the Redeemer, a mitre, and two candelabra. On the left of the picture, touching the wall, is a wooden chair covered with red cloth fastened with brass nails: its form is peculiar, and

[1] Cassola, *Viaggio*, cit., p. 109.

[2] *Parte diuerse et ordeni in materia delle Pompe dal 1535, adì 29 sett. fin 1619*, p. 42. Tip. Pinelli stampator ducale.

belongs to those chairs (*carega episcopal*) reserved on solemn occasions for prelates of high rank. From the back of the chair rests a long rod to which was attached the baldachino; in front is the prayer stool.[1]

The modest homes of the people, no less than the palaces of the rich, breathed an air of individual and characteristic charm. Externally they still preserved their original form. They were built in one or two stories, a wooden balcony ran along the front, and a vine was frequently trained up the balustrade till it ended under the eaves, which were carried on projecting brackets.[2] On the roof was the *altana*, and in place of the gardens of the patricians, a little orchard lent its charm to the house. The rooms had polished and variegated floors of scagliola, and cupboards, chests, and bedsteads of walnut, curtains, carpets, gold ewers and silver spoons and forks. The whole furniture of the house, though modest and even poor, displayed a harmony of line, of which we may gather some idea from the engravings which illustrate more especially the books of devotion in use among the people, where the burin of the modest artist is no less faithful a guide to the truth than the brush of the great masters. The kitchen in which the family dined was decorated with copper buckets, caldrons, kettles, with platters of brass, or still more commonly of silvery Venetian pewter. In the decent homes of the gondoliers the portraits of their forebears, champions of the oar, hung upon the walls, and by an act of filial piety the son would place the banner he had won in a regatta by the side of his father's likeness. On ordinary feast days, when repose from work was obligatory — though the public offices remained open[3] — the houses

[1] Ludwig and Molmenti, *Carpaccio*, cit., p. 179.

[2] Until quite recently a specimen of such a house was to be seen in the Campo di Santa Margherita. Now the beautiful eaves have disappeared, swept away by the mania for modernising which is waging war on ancient Venice.

[3] Gallicciolli, II, 420.

Boat-landing of the Palazzo del Cammello alla Madonna dell' Orto

of the people kept holyday, and everywhere there reigned an atmosphere of well-being and refinement, the fruit of successful labour, from which the populace reaped handsome gains "chi più, chi meno, secondo la qualità e l'ingegno delle persone, fatte per ciò troppo morbide e licentiose." [1]

In comparison with the neat and comfortable houses of the people, the palaces of the patricians seemed hardly the homes of private individuals, but rather the princely abodes of sovereigns, where art and beauty found a fitting shrine in every chamber, but in certain dwellings had a veritable temple set apart for them. It is indeed remarkable to find so many private citizens forming collections each one of which would form the glory of a modern town. These *Studî*, or collections, of the Venetian patricians were in fact museums rich in statues, pictures, drawings, illuminated manuscripts, bronzes, majolica, glass stuffs, ivories, engraved gems, medals, gold- and silver-smith's work, and splendid armour.[2] These armouries were in particular favour with the Venetian patrician, and the collections of Zaccaria Salomon, Niccolò Soriano, Giambattista Quirini, Caterino Zeno, Luigi Pasqualigo, Fabio da Canal were world-renowned.[3] In a single chamber of the Palazzo Correr at San Simeone Grande were fourteen bucklers, thirty-six halberds [4] with their hafts covered with velvet, eight Turkish bows, twelve lances, two standards, one bandarole, and the family shield with helmet and pedigree.[5] Still richer was the collection in the Sala d'armi of the Council of Ten in the Ducal Palace. It

[1] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 385.

[2] Levi, C. A., *Le Collezioni d'arte e d'antichità dal secolo XIV ai nostri giorni*. Venezia, 1900.

[3] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 380.

[4] In the Armoury at the Museo Civico there are twelve halberds with hafts 2.32 metres long; the blades are 0.97 high and 0.31 wide. They are described by Lazari under numbers 1314 and 1325.

[5] See Appendix, Doc. B, N° 4. *Inventario della Casa del Procuratore Lorenzo Correr* (1584).

consisted not only of the usual weapons in great numbers, but also of rare specimens either captured or acquired or bequeathed, and along with other objects of the highest rarity and value it formed a real museum, whose scanty remains are now to be found in the Arsenal.

But arms were not the only objects collected by the Venetian nobility. Sansovino in his *Venetia* and Foscarini in his *Letteratura Veneziana* have preserved the names of many famous amateurs. We hear of the museum formed by Andrea Vendramin at San Gregorio,[1] of another Vendramin at Santa Fosca containing a collection of original drawings by the great masters of the day,[2] of Andrea Loredan, to whom Paolo Manuzio tenders thanks for more knowledge, imparted in a few hours, than he had been able to gather from years of study.[3] Ermolao Barbaro, Cardinal Pietro Bembo, Andrea Franceschi, and Giambattista Ramusio, Secretaries to the Senate, Stefano Magno, who collected medals, Marino Grimani, Egyptologist, Federico Contarini, collector of Greek inscriptions, Daniele Barbaro, the illustrious Patriarch of Aquileia, who supplied Goltzius with medals from his private collection, must be mentioned among distinguished Venetian dilettanti. In the Cardinal Domenico Grimani we have the true type of the connoisseur steeped to his finger-tips in the

[1] The Illustrated Catalogue of the Vendramin Collection is in the British Museum (Sloane Foundation, 4004-4006). It is in four volumes, entitled:

"1. De Picturis in Museis Domini Andreae Vendrameno positis.

"2. De Annulis et Sigillis Ægyptiorum scarabeis emblematibus ornatu et alijs signis et figuris in gemmis et lapidibus a natura delineatis et incisis in museo A. Vendrameno repositis.

"3. De rebus Naturalibus puris mixtis acque compositis et in omni genere petritis in Museo A. V. repositis.

"4. De mineralibus omnis generis tam metallicis et puris lapideis quam gemmatis," etc.

[2] Guisconi Anselmo (Niccolò Doglioni), *Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venetia*, etc. Venetia, 1556.

[3] Manuzio, P., *Lett. volg.*, p. 72. Venezia, 1550.

feeling for art. He left a large part of his collections to the Republic, which placed the various works in the Library Museum, and the rest to his nephew Giovanni, also Patriarch of Aquileia. Domenico Grimani's museum comprised statues, busts, Roman marbles, rare manuscripts, medals, coins, paintings by the great masters, pictures by Michelangelo, as Sanudo assures us, and, according to the *Anonimo*, Raphael's cartoon for the "Conversion of Saint Paul"; paintings and engravings by Dürer, Memmling, Albert van Ouvater, Patenier, Bosch, and Jacopo de' Barbari; but his two most precious objects were the statue of Marcus Agrippa from the portico of the Pantheon and the famous Breviary, illuminated, as modern criticism has proved,[1] by Gossaert, called Mabuse after his native town. Giovanni Grimani inherited his uncle's love of art. He was an able draughtsman and architect, and if he did not, as some say, build the palace at Santa Maria Formosa, he certainly modified the whole building and added the superb staircase with its stuccoed and gilded vaulting and its paintings by Federico Zuccheri,[2] its chambers decorated by Francesco Salviati, Camillo Mantovano, and Giovanni da Udine. In the courtyard surrounded with columns, full of busts, inscriptions, and antique fragments, rose the magnificent statue of Marcus Agrippa; the vestibules and the salons of the palace were a veritable museum of antique sculpture, a large part of which went to enrich foreign galleries on the fall of the Republic.

The *Anomino* of Morelli — probably Marcantonio Michiel, who died in his native Venice in 1525 —

[1] Among the first by Thausing and Morelli. See note to Frizzoni's edition of the *Notizia dell'Anonimo*, p. 204. The Cardinal paid five hundred zecchini for the Breviary.

[2] And not by Giovanni da Udine, as is generally stated. Vasari, in his *Vite degli Zuccheri*, says: "Adornò [Federigo] al Patriarca [Grimani] le scale del suo Palazzo di Venezia di figurette poste con molta grazia dentro a certi ornamenti di stucco."

has left us the earliest example of an artistic guide. He describes the treasures preserved in some of the cities of Lombardy and of the Veneto, and in Venice itself he calls special attention to the private collections of Antonio Pasqualino, Taddeo Contarini, Gerolamo Marcello, Antonio Foscarini, Francesco Zio, Giannantonio Venier, the Spaniard Giovanni Ram, and Paolo d'Anna, all of them men of refined artistic taste who loved to surround themselves with precious objects of ancient and modern art, Italian or foreign. A glance at the inventories, published or as yet among the inedited papers of the Archivio di Stato, and more especially the papers of the *Petizion*, the court which heard all cases of succession, will show us that love of art was not confined to the patrician caste but was to be found among the well-to-do citizens. In one of the less frequented corners of Venice, at San Nicola da Tolentino, on the Fondamenta Caffaro, so called after an ancient family of that name, there was a house whose façade was ablaze with frescoes by Girolamo da Treviso, a good artist formed on the Florentine and Roman schools, more especially on Raphael. The panels of the façade were enlivened by mythological subjects, — Juno in the clouds, Bacchus embracing Ceres, Apollo, Pallas, and the Graces; while all round the courtyard ran a frieze of Cupids. In this house the merchant Andrea Odoni, who had removed from Milan to Venice, dispensed the treasures of his wit and the splendours of his estate. The magnificence of the exterior was matched by the care bestowed upon the furniture; and, as Aretino assures us, there was not a prince living who had handsomer beds or rarer pictures or more regal upholsterings. The master of the house, with his subtle yet burning appreciation of art, had collected with rare judgment hundreds on hundreds of beautiful objects: a faithful and loving copy of an antique marble, from the chisel of that poet-sculptor

Tullio Lombardo; a Saint Catherine with the Child, by Titian; a nude female figure, by Savoldo; the Transfiguration of Saint Paul, by Bonifazio de' Pitati; a Ceres, by Palma Vecchio; the portrait of a boy found among the baggage abandoned by Charles VIII after the battle of the Taro; vases, medals, gems, and porcelain.[1] Lorenzo Lotto has given us a portrait of Andrea Odoni in his study, surrounded by these objects of his affectionate contemplation; and thus employed, he passed his days in quiet, cheered by the company of his nephew Rinaldo and of Paolo Manuzio, who had married Rinaldo's sister, Margherita, an excellent housewife — *cujus precipue studio res familiaris ac domus tota nititur* — as her husband himself said of her.

But this city, overflowing with wealth, comfort, and luxury of every description, was yet unable to silence the cry for the open air and liberty of the fields, which are the source of bodily health and foster noble sentiments. Though the prosperity of Venice and its recurring festivals induced a happy, pleasure-loving habit of mind among the people, it cannot be denied that the damp climate and the vast silent spaces of the lagoon disposed the mind to a mild melancholy.[2] The patricians, therefore, having the leisure denied to the rest of the population, which was engaged in earning a living, submitted, like the Romans of the Augustan age, to the imperious desire for rest in shady groves to which they could invite their friends. It is true that the delight of greenery was not lacking in Venice; and Casola, in 1494, declares that "Non è cosa che più me habia conducto in admiratione in questa

[1] *Not. dell'Anonimo*, pp. 155, 164.

[2] The celebrated physician Santorio (*Meth. Vitand. err.*, Lib. I, c. 9) says: "Similiter si loca fuerint palustria et caenosa crassas exhalationes spirantia, horum locorum incolae, ubi se colligent in aerem perflatum boreali spiritu, tunc tristitia, quae est melancholiae caracter exui affatim sentiunt, quod obtingere solet Venetis melancholicis, dum e suis palustribus in rura secedunt."

città edificata sopra l'acqua, quanto a facto al vedere belli zardini quanti li sono."[1] There were the monastery orchards, the vineyards round the churches, — San Francesco still bears the name *della Vigna*, — and the many gardens attached to the houses to whose architectural features they lent a charming natural setting; there were dancing-greens and arbours for parties of noble ladies and cavaliers, or for the meeting of learned societies, such as the garden of the printer Marcolini, described by Aretino as "ventaglio della state, poi che il respirare del suo vento, l'ombra del suo verde, la soavità de i suoi fiori, et il canto de i suoi augelli petrarchevoli, rinfresca, ricuopre, diletta et addormenta."[2] And the city was circled by that smiling coronet of green islets, transformed into pleasure grounds as at the Giudecca, Murano, or the more distant Vignole.[3] On the Giudecca many noble families, like the Barbaro, Gritti, Dandolo, Mocenigo, Vendramin, and Cornaro,[4] owned palaces surrounded by gardens *delicati et rari*.[5] Above all, the villa of Sante Cattaneo commanded admiration, for nothing was wanting which could refresh and delight the spirit. From a hall adorned with paintings and frescoes one passed into a courtyard paved with brick from which sprang jets of water, while water flowed down over rockeries cunningly set with coral, shells, and statuettes.

[1] Casola, *Viaggio*, cit., p. 14.

[2] Aretino, *Ragionamento de le Corti*. Venezia, Marcolini, 1538. See also Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 107.

[3] "Alle Vignuole un luogo deliciosissimo, il quale era di un gentiluomo chiamato Donato Marcello." Malespini Celio, *Ducento Novelle*, Part II, p. 22. Venetia, 1609.

[4] In June of 1549 Aretino (*Lett.*, V, 122) wrote to Benedetto Cornaro: "Se la Giudecca non meritasse d'essere ammirata . . . per la bellezza dei palazzi, delle chiese, del sito; solo il Giardino, che verdeggia intorno alle nobili stanze vostre, la mostrarebbero alle genti maravigliosa."

[5] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 369. Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi describes the gardens of the nobility set with fruit trees, roses, carnations from Damascus, and lilies; and Scoto (*Itinerario*): says: "Nell'isola della Zuecca, molti giardini et vaghi edifici, così per culto divino, come per uso dei cittadini."

The Gate of the Giardino da Mula at Murano

From this *cortile* you passed into the garden, rich in plants and rare flowers; at the end was a large loggia, gracefully painted, whence the eye could wander over the lagoon as far as Malamocco.[1]

Murano was in greater favour than even the Giudecca. At the opening of the sixteenth century its population had risen to thirty thousand inhabitants, and its prosperity was on the increase, thanks to its glass works. The noise from the furnaces on work days and the revelry of the populace on holydays did not break in upon the calm delight of life behind the garden walls. From the cessation of work on Saturday night to the beginning again at sundown on Sunday, the factory hands would turn out, clean-shaven and in their best, and, as Murano boasted only two wine-shops, they would meet in the private rooms of some casino to play cards, or go to the theatre, or play ball, or attend the favourite show of all, *la festa dei tori;* and in these private or public resorts the great gentlemen who owned houses and gardens at Murano,[2] especially at the close of the Quattrocento, would not disdain to mingle with the ordinary work-folk. A stream of gondolas brought over to Murano patricians seeking rest from the cares of State: the learned who came to discuss science and letters in the garden greenery, the ladies in search of congenial company. The sumptuous houses of Murano were the scene of learned conferences, of *fêtes*, of every imaginable diversion. There were the magnificent Gothic Palazzo da Mula; the Mocenigo house with its splendid frescoes representing music, poetry, and love; the Palazzo Trevisan, designed by Daniele Barbaro with the help of Palladio, rich in statuary and decorations by Vittoria, in sculpture by Domenico da Salò, and in paintings by Paolo Veronese and Giambattista Zelotti. Tradition has it that Queen Caterina Cornaro sometimes

[1] Sansovino, *Venetia*, Martinioni's additions, p. 370.

[2] In 1411 Francesco Amadi owned *domum in capite Muriani cum orto amenissimo*. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 300, n. 301.

visited the palace of her family, with its rows of triumphal arches, and in 1574 Henry III of France was a guest in the house of the Cappello.[1] These palaces stood in gardens, *veri paradisi terrestri, per la vaghezza dell'aiere e del sito, lioghi de ninfe e de semidei*,[2] so says Andrea Calmo, who recalls with longing

> Quei horti pieni de erbe huliose
> E quel canal cusì chiaro e pulio
> Con quele bele case sì aierose . . .

Cornelio Castaldi of Feltre wrote a Latin poem on the Gardens of Murano.[3] After describing the island, the delight of the learned, the poet proceeds to dwell on the beauties of a villa where the Priuli brothers

> . . . veniunt comitum semper dulci agmine septi.

In the garden:

> In medio fons dulcis aquae per concava ductus
> Saxa, soporifero sinuosus murmure, in auras
> Prosilit incertum Phydiae, an ne Mironis an et sit
> Fors utriusque labor; fontem amplum plurima circum
> Fistula fundit aquas sinuoso e gutture lyncum;
> Quatuor observant fontis latera ardua tygres.

Then, recalling Catullus, the poet turns to the reader and exclaims: "Prega i numi che ti mutino tutto in occhi e narici":

> Nec modo te capient, atque haec in vota vocabunt
> Narcissi, aut violae, aut ridentes semper acanthi,
> Vel sine fine etiam muscata rosaria, vel quae
> Gemmiferam Latio referunt donasse Damascum.

Then

> . . . divite sylva
> Exultant nivei flores nemus inter opacum,
> Et mala e ramis nitentibus integra pendent
> . . . . . .
> Parte alia qua te laeti demum exitus horti
> Inter odoratas bene pexo crine cupressus,
> Sensim dedaleas hilares inducit in aedes;
> Suspicis ingentem caveam, quam ferrea texunt
> Vimina, tercentum divisam ex ordine clathris,
> Psittacus humana saepe hinc te voce salutat.

[1] Zanetti, *Guida di Murano*, p. 278. Venezia, 1866.
[2] Calmo, *Lettere*, cit., ed. Rossi, p. 173.
[3] *Priulanin ruris ad Murianum delitiae.* Jacopo Bernardi translated it into Italian. (Venezia, 1868.)

It must indeed have been one of the "più belli horti che havesse mai l'antica et la moderna età."[1]

In the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* we get both descriptions and sketches of gardens which we may perhaps take as showing the taste and the plan of the gardens at Murano. Pleached alleys and arbours were in common use, while trees and hedges were clipped into architectural designs and served as settings for statuary or rich decorations in marble.

Navagero, in the letters he wrote from Spain to Giambattista Ramusio, frequently recalls his garden at Murano; nothing, he says, is dearer to his heart, and he promises himself many a pleasant hour there on his return. Bembo, in a Latin letter, congratulates Navagero on having been able to pass a summer in his gardens at Murano, as he cannot doubt but that the world will reap the benefit of this leisure pleasantly employed in the shade of his citron trees that came from the shores of Garda. Cristoforo Longolio, in a letter to Bembo, gives us a description of this garden of Navagero with its pleasant shade. "Hujus," he says, "in suburbano, cum hortus ipse grato nobis spectaculo fuit, ita dimensus et descriptus, ut omnes tum pomarii, tum seminarii arborum ordines in quincuncem dirigantur, et exquisitissimo ambulationum topiario opere latera eius decumanique limitis camerae convestiantur."[2] "Siano degli altri le mitre e le corone; *rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes*," said Trifone Gabriele to the Senate, when it offered him the patriarchate of Venice or the see of Treviso. And Trifone in his gardens at Murano played the host to such men as Gian Giorgio Trissino, Sperone Speroni, Francesco Sansovino, Bembo, the younger Ramusio, Gaspare Contarini, Jacopo Zane, Aretino, Girolamo Molino,

[1] Lando, Ortensio, *Sette libri de cataloghi a varie cose appartenenti*, p. 490. Venezia, 1552.

[2] Longolii, *Epistolarum*, I, 108-109. Lugduni, 1593.

Bernardo Tasso, and the celebrated physician Vittore Trincavello. Murano was preferred as a dwelling-place to Venice itself by Giovanni della Casa, who occupied a house belonging to Lionello da Carpi, and filled it with his admiring pupils, while Gian Giorgio Trissino was lodged in the parish of San Donato.[1] In the gardens of Camillo Trevisan, in the presence of Giorgio Gradenigo, Orsatto Giustinian, Valerio Marcellini, and the Friulan Ottavio Menini, Celio Magno declaimed his *canzoni*, *divine canzoni*, as Menini calls them in a dissertation thereon.[2] In these quiet garden retreats, beneath the shade of the vine trellises, with Venice rising in the distance, these *studiosi*, as the people named them, read their poems, discussed letters and art and history, and traversed the newly discovered fields of ancient learning. To these gardens the Academy of the *Pellegrini*, too, would sometimes resort, or some literary body founded in Murano itself. These coteries were at their foundation informal reunions in the days when Bembo and Aldus and their friends discussed philosophy and *belles lettres*; but as time went on, they were crystallised into academies under names such as the *Occulti* (1600), *Vigilanti* (1602), *Generosi* (1603), *Angustiati* (1660), *Vigilanti Purificati* (1675), *Fecondi* (1720), and so on.

When the Republic began to enlarge its territory on the mainland, love of the country grew warmer among the Venetians. The æsthetic value of landscape, the rich and smiling plain, the grassy hills, acquired a significance which is the outcome of a long and complicated development in culture that the Italians were the first among moderns to appreciate.[3] This new emotion is apparent in the painters of the Quattrocento, especially in Giambellino, in Bastiani, in Carpaccio,

[1] Morsolin, *Giangiorgio Trissino*, p. 228. Firenze, 1894.
[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, V, 246.
[3] Burckhardt, *La civ. del Rin.*, Vol. I, Chap. III.

Asolo *Photo by Fini*

Basaiti, and Cima. The golden backgrounds of the Byzantine and Vivarinesque masters suddenly open and let in the light and air; beyond the superb architecture of the early Renaissance appears in the distance the fair champaign of the Veneto, which Venetians of the lagoon were beginning to love and to conquer. The poetry that breathed from marble and water in the purely Venetian backgrounds is wedded now to a spirit of rural peace and calm inspired by verdant hills and groves and placid lakes that fill the further distance, all given with that charming *naïveté* and tentativeness of touch which prelude to the bolder outlines of Titian's or Giorgione's landscape. The love of nature comes to life again, the soul of the artist stirs to delicious tremors at its contact, his spirit is inflamed by a passionate desire to penetrate and understand. The Venetians did not desert their gardens at Murano, those gardens that recalled the Academy of Athens or the groves of the Florentine Rucellai, but the open country now began to assert its attraction. The joys of a country life had more efficacy to console Caterina Cornaro for the splendours of the palaces she had left than had the stir and bustle and festivities of her native city. She passed a large part of the year in her castle at Asolo, which overlooked a garden "vago molto et di maravigliosa bellezza," with its broad and shady trellis of vines running down the middle, its flower-beds, its green lawns, juniper hedges, groves of laurel quick with the murmur of a running stream that issued from the live rock, its little winding walks that spread their network through the pleasaunce.[1] In the neighbourhood of her castle the queen built herself a villa for summer residence; it was called *Barco,* and there, thanks to her private wealth and to the eight thousand ducats (equal to twelve thousand five hundred pounds) which the government allowed her annually, she was able to

[1] Bembo, *Gli Asolani,* I, 9 et seq. Venezia, 1743.

pass her days in dance and tourney and the chase.[1] Towards the close of his life Trifone Gabriele too found solace in the little villas among the Euganean hills no less than in his gardens of Murano, and many letters of this erudite and gentle soul are addressed to his friends from Pergolino, from Ronchi, from Villa Bozza, and from a place he calls *sopra l'Arcone*.[2]

In many places the frowning feudal castle with its mantelets and machicolations was being transformed into a peaceful, unprotected country house. An old book printed at Venice in the fifteenth century shows us a woodcut of a house in the country with its stables, wine-cellars, dovecote, poultry-yard, and all the appurtenances of placid rural existence; while a picture by Andrea Previtali, the charming "Annunciation" in Santa Maria del Meschio at Ceneda, introduces us, perhaps, to a chamber of a nobleman's country residence in the Quattrocento.

Throughout the Cinquecento, and especially after the middle, there was great activity in building villas along the Brenta, on the hills of Vicenza and Verona, in the plain of Friuli and in the Marca Trevigiana, which a contemporary calls the garden of Venice.[3] From the quiet greenery of the Venetian plain there rose the gleaming marble and the fair proportions of Palladian villas, with their ornamental statuary and frescoes by the great masters, more especially Veronese, who has left treasures of his art at Fanzólo, Thiene, Romanziol, Magnadola, Masér, Sant' Andrea' del Musone, Zellarino, Zerman. Sometimes, too, the master who painted the chambers of the villa would lay out its gardens, as did

[1] Simonsfeld, *Caterina Cornaro*, trans. and comm. of L. Fietta (*Arch. Veneto*, XXI, 48, 55).

[2] Dall'Oste, *San Polo nel Trevigiano*, pubbl. per nozze Papadopoli-Troili, p. 122. Venezia, 1874.

[3] "Se Venezia ad una gran casa volessimo paragonare, siccome le lagune si direbbono le sue peschiere, così il Trevigiano un suo giardino." Bonifaccio, *Hist. di Trevigi*, p. 523. Venezia, 1744.

the Veronese artist Dario Varotari (d. 1539), who frescoed the villa of the Mocenigo at Dolo, called *delle perle*, and designed and laid out the gardens, fountains, and alleys.[1]

That bizarre genius, Anton Francesco Doni, who enjoyed the hospitality of the Venetian gentry in their country houses and ended his days in the beautiful villa at Monselice, probably then the property of the Malipiero, has left us a treatise on the true method of building and adorning a villa. Doni distinguishes four kinds of villa, — the princely villa or pleasure house, the gentleman's villa meant for repose, the merchant's villa designed for economy, the artisan's or farmer's villa built for practical use. The villa of Francesco Morosini at Noale is a specimen of a gentleman's house; clear streams of water flowing through the greenery, a large and handsome entrance leading to a *cortile*, a colonnade on one side communicating with well-appointed guest chambers having a loggia with great windows.[2] Federico Priuli owned a country house at Tre Ville in the Trevigiano; it was *ricca e grandissima*, painted inside and out by Giuseppe Porta del Salviati[3]; and on seeing it Andrea Calmo breaks out into one of his quaint exclamations: "Ohimè, ch'el besogna altro inzegno, altro scritor e altro saver ca 'l mio a darghe quelle laude che merita una cusi benintesa fabrica regal, piena de artefitio e ben intesa de architettura; che quanti romanzi ha descrito de diversi hospitii edificai in la foresta, no ha dito el quinto de quel che xe sto palazzonazzo, da star un principo, d'alozar un re, a da recever un Giove."[4] Doni adds that the floors were like shining mirrors; that the gilded, carved, and painted ceilings had no match. On the walls were paintings by Titian and the greatest Flemish masters; the chairs, hangings, canopies,

[1] Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'Arte*, II, 119.
[2] Doni, *Attavanta, Villa*. Firenze, 1857.
[3] Vasari, *Vita di Francesco del Salviati*, XII, 81, ed. Lemonnier.
[4] Calmo, *Lettere*, cit., p. 173.

embroidered curtains, and carved bedsteads were all matchless. "I tappeti in suprema eccellenza, i rensi, guanciali ed altri suppellettili son tanto degni, quanto si possino immaginare gli uomini."[1] The forest of Montello, placed under the care of special magistrates and considered as *una delle singolari gratie ch'abbia fatto la Maestà di Dio a questo Stato*, on account of its wealth of oak trees which furnished lumber for Venetian galleys, was frequented by the Priuli, Marcello, Duodo, and Corner, in search of a pure and invigorating climate.[2] Lodovico Marcello (1443–1525), Prior of San Giovanni del Tempio at Treviso, a prelate of habits not above reproach but famous for his princely hospitality, entertained the cream of learned and literary society in the salons of his commandery at Treviso, chambers adorned by Lorenzo Lotto and by Dalle Destre, and at his villa on Montello with its loggias and its gardens.[3] The owners of these villas kept open house for their numerous friends, who took the pleasures of nature mingled with the refined enjoyment of art. By way of entertainment there was music, and games of all sorts, chess, ball,[4] tennis, billiards, dice, ninepins, quoits, skittles, knucklebones, racquets, battledore, and fives[5]; then came theatricals, walks in the country, riding-parties, *al fresco* dinners, expeditions in carriages or in boats, fishing, the high jinks of vintage time, and the practical jokes which came to be so popular with the patricians of the Settecento.[6] The Venetians were fond of the

[1] Doni, *Attavanta*, cit., p. 38.

[2] Battistella, O., *Il Montello nella poesia*, pp. 9 and 11. Treviso, 1905.

[3] Biscaro, *Lodovico Marcello* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*. Venezia, 1898).

[4] The Gioliti printed in Venice, in 1555, the *Tratatto del giuoco della palla* of Antonio Scaino da Salò.

[5] Doni, op. cit., p. 73.

[6] Though the authority (Malespini, *Ducento Novelle*, II, 108) is not the best, yet it may be true that the Patriarch Grimani actually played the following practical joke on a prelate who was a guest with him in a nobleman's house at Mestre. It was Summer, and the prelate suffered terribly from the heat; yet the Patriarch hid a live brazier under the bed and nearly caused his death by suffocation.

(A)

(B)

A—Villa Foscari alla Malcontenta. B—Piazza della Malcontenta. (Cuts by G. F. Costa—XVIII century)

chase, and two works enjoyed a wide circulation, — the *Cinegetico*, a poem in octaves by Tito Giovanni Ganzarini da Scandiano (1556), and another poem by Erasmo da Valvassone (1591), feudal lord of Valvassone in the territory of Udine, who treats therein of various kinds of sport. Events of family interest, such as marriages, births, elections to public offices, were celebrated with even more sumptuous concerts, dances, jousts, and tourneys.[1] We have but scanty pictorial record of life in the country. Two documents seem worth noting: one is a miniature in the Maggi Manuscript of the National Library at Paris, already quoted; the other is a picture in the Academy at Bergamo, which shows us a villa on the banks of a canal, with steps and a landing-place, trellises and gardens stretching away to the house. The picture used to be attributed to Paolo Veronese, but is now assigned to Lodovico Pozzoferrato, a Flemish painter established at Treviso. We are inclined, however, to give it to Carletto Cagliari, Paolo Veronese's son.

The Brenta was the favourite site for the *villeggiatura*, owing to the facility with which it could be reached by boat across the lagoon, touching at the river's mouth at Fusina or Lizzafusina. From Moranzan, near which is the villa of the Foscari, all the way to Padua, the banks of the Brenta were set with sumptuous palaces.[2] The site of the villa built by Palladio for the Foscari is close to the ancient abbey of Sant' Ilario; the villa has a magnificent loggia of Ionic columns and chambers frescoed by Zelotti. It took its name of *Malcontenta* from the legend of a fair but frail lady of the family, who was sent by her family to do penance

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, XXVIII, 493.

[2] *La Brenta quasi Borgo della Città di Venezia, luogo di delizie dei Veneti patrizi delineata e descritto da* P. Coronelli.—*Delle delizie del fiume Brenta espresse nei palazze e casini situati sopra le sue sponde dalla sboccatura nella laguna di Venezia fino alla città di Padova disegnate ed incise da* G. F. Costa, 1750–1762.

there. To-day the ruin of the place and its sad, malarious surroundings justify the melancholy name; but once upon a time all around the great villa rose houses of retainers, and in front was a noble piazza which they used to compare to Saint Mark's. The palace was the scene of many a sumptuous festival; in 1574 the Foscari entertained Henry III of France at Malcontenta, and after lunch the sovereign took boat, and passed up the Brenta in amazement at its splendid villas, among which the house of the Procurator Federico Contarini particularly caught the royal regard. In the Trevigiano, on the other hand, we have the villa built about 1500 by the brothers Marcantonio and Daniele Barbaro, — the first a famous diplomat, skilled mechanician, and able modeller; the second, Patriarch of Aquileia and no mean draughtsman and architect. Palladio built the villa, Vittoria decorated it with stuccoes, and Veronese painted it in fresco.[1] Palladio also built the graceful little chapel, close to the villa, with its reminiscence of the Pantheon at Rome.[2] The façade of the palace is of the Ionic order, and is divided into three compartments by four semi-columns; it looks on to a garden with delightful flower-beds and fountains. In the rear the second floor is on a level with a semicircular parterre, in the middle of which rises a fountain, with statues and ornamentation in stucco; the fountain is fed by a spring from the hills, which is first gathered into a large basin and thence is drawn off for all the uses of kitchen, stable, garden, and so on. The internal arrangement consists of a central hall in the form of a cross, sparsely decorated by Veronese with

[1] *La villa di Masér in provincia di Treviso.* Roma, 1904. This little work reproduces all previous descriptions of the villa by Palladio, Vasari, Ridolfi, Milizia, Temanza, Bertotti-Scamozzi, Algarotti, Zanetti, Lanzi, Crico, Zabeo, Zanella, Caccianiga, Magni, Pietro Caliari, Lützow, Blanc, and Charles Yriarte.

[2] Palladio, *L'Architettura divisa in quattro libri*, etc., Vol. II, Chap. IV. Venezia, 1711.

Villa di Masér

eight figures of female minstrels, and trophies of halberds painted at the angles. Suites of apartments and loggias open from this hall. In these chambers Veronese's work is of a richer quality; here the nobility of the Barbaro family is proclaimed in allegory, the gods of Olympus appear in scenes from classical mythology, the divinities of the fields and groves invite to the pleasures of a country life. And in the midst of these mundane fancies we come across some figure of sacred story, the Madonna, or Saint Catherine, or Saint Joseph; some touch from real life, like the child who is playing with a dog, an ape, a parrot, an old woman pointing out to a girl a handsome youth with a hound in leash. In all this joyous profusion of colour and of form we find, too, the lifelike, vivacious portraits of Marcantonio Barbaro's family, and of Benedetto Caliari, the great master's brother, and possibly his assistant at Masér. And in the evening, when Veronese had come down from his scaffolding, his hand wearied by the endeavour to keep pace with the flight of his imagination, when Palladio had finished the model for a capital, or sketched the harmonious curve of a ceiling or relief of a cornice, when Vittoria had abandoned for the day his mouldings that emulated the most delicate carving in marble, and the master of the house, Marcantonio, their worthy compeer, laid aside his modelling tools, they all would meet in the banqueting-room,[1] and forget fatigue at the sumptuous board, in the beaker brimming with the wine of Asolo; the brilliant conversation flowed along, not, perhaps, without a spice of looseness here and there, that could hardly shock even the Patriarch of Aquileia, Daniele, and certainly must have called a smile to the lips of Marcantonio, the grave ambassador, who loved lively jests, and who engraved them, too, under the figures he modelled for the grotto in the

[1] Caccianiga, *Ricordo della provincia di Treviso*, LI. Treviso, 1874.

garden,[1]—for example, these verses for a group representing Actæon and Diana :

> Chi curioso spia
> Ciò che non deve,
> Invece di gioir,
> Corna riceve.

In ways like this the men who were to be shortly called upon to guide the State filled up the leisure of their country life ; and thus, too, luxury and splendour spread from the city to the country in the train of the great personages who passed the summer months in their villas or were sent to govern the mainland towns. A whole series of laws, known as *dei Reggimenti*, were passed in order to counteract the pernicious effects of the example set by the representatives of the Republic in the provinces.[2]

There were, however, among the Venetian patriciate a certain number of noblemen who preferred the charms of nature adorned by art to the ambitions of office or

[1] Yriarte, *La Vie d'un patricien*, p. 149. Paris, 1874.

[2] The most important of these sumptuary laws *dei Reggimenti* were passed by the Senate on the following dates, June 29, 1595 (Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 65, c. 44); May 20, 1598 (*Terra*, Reg. 68, c. 30); June 22, 1609 (*Terra*, Reg. 79, c. 39); March 3, 1618 (*Terra*, Reg. 88, c. 6). These laws established the nature of the furnishings of a governor's house. He was forbidden to hang the whole house in mourning in the case of a death in the family. Silk hangings for the hall or the chambers were illegal; satin, camlet, or stamped leather, unfigured, was permitted, but only to a certain height up the walls. Tapestry was permitted in one room only. Carpets, table-cloths of silk and gold, silk window curtains, were forbidden except in the principal room, Not more than twelve chairs upholstered in silk or velvet were permitted. Carved and gilded benches, strong boxes covered with silk or velvet, carved and gilded doors, carved or painted walnut bedsteads, bed curtains and coverlids embroidered in gold, chased gold sheaths for swords or daggers, were all illegal. Silver plate was limited to sixty marks' worth. Carriages were not to be lined with velvet or silk, nor were gold fringes permitted. Two horses only were allowed, and the harness was to be of plain leather without ornaments. Later on, the severity of these laws was relaxed with a view to making them efficacious. In the second half of the sixteenth century 1500 ounces of plate were permitted, and in 1770 this was raised to 6000 (Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 146, c. 18), March 11, 1653 (Reg. 204, c. 125), May 16, 1682 (Reg. 336, c. 122), April 26, 1749, and so on.

the attractions of the city. Leonardo Emo is a noble example of the true country gentleman; he devoted his whole life to the intelligent development of his estate at Fanzólo in the Trevigiano. The family archives of the Emo at Fanzólo contain a book of memoranda written by Giovanni Emo in 1664; in it we find this note: "Li beni posti in Villa di Fanzuol, territorio trevisano, sono patrimonio antichissimo della nostra casa, quali di tempo in tempo sono andati augumentando dalli nostri ascendenti. Erano questi liberamente posseduti dal q^m Sig. Lunardo Emo q^m Sig. Alvise mio Avo, signore di gran prudenza e governo, mancato di vita senza debiti." He too was a gentleman *di gran prudenza e governo* and an excellent father, for in 1565 he married Cornelia Grimani, and by her had eight daughters and two sons, all of whom he left well provided. Signor Lunardo did not ignore the vaunt of his race that they were patrons of the arts, and about 1550 he called on Palladio to build him a villa, and three years later, Battista Zelotti and Paolo Veronese — whose fame had spread through the Trevigiano, on account of their decoration of the Villa Soranza near Castelfranco, which, Vasari tells us, was considered the most beautiful and commodious house that had been erected in those parts — were invited to carry out the frescoes. The Villa of Fanzólo, standing in forty hectares of private grounds, with wide lawns and long avenues of hornbeam, watered by a copious stream, is a worthy monument of the architect who designed it, and of the Venetian patrician who owned it. Palladio himself uses very modest language in describing it. "Le cantine," he says, "i granari, le stalle e gli altri luoghi di Villa sono sull'una e l'altra parte della casa dominicale, e nell' estremità loro vi sono due colombare, che apportano utile al padrone, ornamento al luogo, e per tutto si può andare al coperto; il che è una delle principali cose che si ricercano ad una casa di Villa.

. . . Dietro a questa fabbrica è un giardino quadro di ottanta campi trivigiani, per mezzo il quale corre un fiumicello che rende il sito bello e dilettevole."[1]

A noble flight of steps leads to the loggia, which is adorned with paintings. In front is a fine Ceres surrounded by agricultural implements, by Paolo; and on each side are weak compositions by Zelotti: Callisto and Jove, and Callisto turned into a bear by Juno. The vestibule is also decorated by Zelotti with a painted pergola and two statues, successfully imitating bronze, — one representing Cordiality with its heart laid bare in its breast, the other signifying Economy with the estate books in its hand. The great hall has a row of fluted Corinthian columns, very well given in chiaroscuro, and the doors and windows open between them. On two walls in the intercolumniation are two large frescoes representing Scipio Africanus and the death of Virginia. Many of the rooms are also painted by the two Veronese masters, who mingled subjects sacred and profane: Christ crowned with thorns next door to the Deities of Olympus, the Holy Family close to Ceres, Saint Jerome companion to Venus, the risen Christ in company with Hercules and Dejanira. In front of the villa opens the valley of Possagno, and the lovely range of hills from Montello to Bassano.

There are gentle souls who love the country with a genuine, natural affection which envelopes mountain, plain, field, and forest in one all-pervading spirit of pantheism. In 1525 Bembo, quitting the uproar of Rome for his villa at Santa Maria di Non,[2] describes

[1] Palladio, *L'Architettura*, cit., II, 117. Palladio mentions other villas built by him for Venetian patricians, — for the Pisani at Bagnolo and at Montagnana, at Fratta near Rovigo for the Badoer, at Chiarano in the Trevigiano for the Zeno, at Piombino near Camposampiero for the Cornaro, at Marocco near Mestre for the Mocenigo. See Magrini, *Memorie int. ad A. Palladio*, p. lxxii. Padova, 1845.

[2] Santa Maria di Non lies close to Padua, and is within the jurisdiction of Cittadella. An autograph declaration of property made on March 15, 1520, by Bartolomeo Bembo in the name of his brother Pietro, contains,

the quiet country life in sketches which breathe a note of veracity, in spite of the studiously ornate style of the language. Writing to a friend, he says: "Son venuto qui alla mia villetta, che molto lietamente mi ha ricevuto, nella quale io vivo in tanta quiete in quanto a Roma mi stetti a travaglio e fastidj . . . Non sento romori se non quelli che mi fanno alquanti lusignoli d'ogni intorno gareggiando tra loro, e molti altri uccelli, i quali tutti pare che s'ingegnino di piacermi con la loro naturale armonia. Leggo, scrivo, quanto io voglio; cavalco, cammino, passeggio molto spesso per entro un boschetto, che io ho a capo dell'orto. Del quale orto assai piacente e bello talora colgo di mano mia la vivanda delle prime tavole per la sera e talora un canestrino di fragole la mattina. . . . Taccio che l'orto e la casa ed ogni cosa tutto 'l giorno di rose è piena. Nè manca oltre a ciò che con una barchetta, prima per un vago fiumicello, che dinanzi alla mia casa corre continuo, e poi per la Brenta, in cui dopo un brevissimo corso questo fiumicello entra . . . io non vada la sera buona pezza diportandomi."

Giorgio Gradenigo (1522–1600), a student of letters and lover of the arts, without laying claim to the grandiloquent title of litterateur, was *podestà* in Friuli for many years; in his letters from Cividale, addressed to his friends, he describes the scenery in broad, clear, vigorous touches, which convince us that he saw, breathed, and enjoyed.[1] After dwelling on the fields, the hills, the grassy slopes, the beauty of dawn, the limpid waters of the Natisone, and the distant Alps,

among other statements, the following: "Et prima soto Zitadela et soto la regola de Santa Maria de Non una caxa da statio con broli et horti da campi 7 in circha con campi de 30 in circha arativi et prativi" (Arch. del Museo Civico of Padua, *Estimi*, Vol. XXII). This is clearly the famous Noniano or Villa Bozza of Bembo, which on one side faced the Brenta and on the other the little streamlet called the Piovego. See Cian, *Un decennio*, etc., pp. 35–37, 204.

[1] Carducci, *Convers. crit.*, p. 187. Roma, 1884.

he breaks out: "Ma che dirò io del respiramento che viene al core dalla bontà e purità di quest'aere? . . . Oh come interamente ho goduto la parte mia! Oh come gustevolmente la sera fin alle due ore passava tempo in diportarmi per prati e pianure vicino al mio albergo! E nel respirare e nel prender fiato sentiva soavemente entrarmi un non so che di odorifero e spiritale nel petto. La mattina poi l'aurora non mi coglieva in letto giammai. Riducendo le molte parole in una, a Cividale il sole mi è paruto più splendente che in altro luogo, il cielo più azzurro, le stelle più luminose. Gli uomini domandati del male dello stomaco, dicono che non lo conobbero mai, e si sputa di rado se non quando si vuole assaggiare qualche buon vino. E vanne via maninconia."[1]

In Alvise Cornaro we have another noble example of a cultivated patrician and country gentleman. He passed most of his long life in the country and felt profoundly the poetry of agricultural labour, the charm of bucolic existence, the *santa agricoltura*, as he himself styles it. Nor was he less attached to art, whose secrets he had probed, whose methods he had mastered so that he was able to assist and to direct the professed artificers in their craftsmanship. He built, partly from his own designs, assisted by Giovan Maria Falconetto, two villas, one at Codevigo on the right bank of the Brenta, the other *nel più bel sito* of the Euganean hills at Este.[2] In his "commodious chambers" and his "beautiful gardens" he tasted the joys of country life, making long excursions on foot and in his carriage; following the chase, to which he was devoted; reading, writing, but never indulging in games, whether cards or chess or any other kind, being a pronounced enemy to them,

[1] Dolce, *Lettere di diversi huomini nobilissimi et eccellentissimi ingegni*, II, 467 et seq. Venetia, 1574.

[2] Lovarini, *Le ville edificate da Alvise Cornaro* (pub. in *Arte*, an. II, fasc. IV–VII. Roma, 1899).

but readily encouraging the plays and comedies of Ruzzante and other playwrights, and conversing pleasantly with his guests on philosophy, art, and letters. But his favourite employment was to build wholesome houses for his peasants and to lay out roads and bridges. This pioneer of charity and of science drew his sincerest joys from his agricultural pursuits, reclaiming marsh lands, rendering the air healthy, inciting the peasants to useful labour, teaching them *il vero modo dell'agricoltura che non la intendeano*,[1] and introducing the sound system of the Mezzadria contract. Venice did not lack noblemen who knew how to combine the pleasures of country life with the wise employment of their riches, and who spread their beneficent influence over farmsteading and field.

This almost patriarchal form of life offers a striking contrast to the rude customs of the feudal nobility of the mainland, — a contrast illustrated by the difference between the gracious Palladian villa of the plain and the frowning fortress crowning the neighbouring hill. The feudal system of rights had never found a place inside the circle of the lagoon, though the Republic did not hesitate to grant such rights even to the members of its own aristocracy, especially in the Greek archipelago after the fall of Constantinople. When Venice conquered the mainland, the government was unable to suppress feudalism entirely, though it endeavoured to

[1] There are hardly any good treatises on the subject belonging to this date. We have an indiscriminate collection of works, ancient and modern, published in Italian under this title: *Della Agricoltura di M. Giovanni Tatti lucchese, libri cinque, ne' quali si contengono tutte le cose utile et appartenenti al bisogno della villa tratte dagli antichi et da moderni scrittori con le figure delle biave, delle piante, de gli animali, et delle erbe*, etc. Venezia, Francesco Sansovino, 1561. The name Tatti probably conceals Sansovino himself, who subsequently dedicated to Antonio Dotto, of Padua, *L'Agricoltura tratta da diversi antichi et moderni scrittori dal sig. G. A. d'Herrera, et tradotta di lingua spagnuolo in italiano da Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano.* Venezia, Bonelli, 1577. We must also mention, as printed at Venice by Giolito (1544), the *Lettera di Alberto Lollio nella quale egli celebra la villa et lauda molto l'agricoltura.*

reform its abuses. In 1586 it published a law regulating investitures, and the year after it appointed the *Provveditori sopra feudi*, the commissioners on fiefs, with which many of its own members were invested, —for example, Caterina Cornaro at Asolo, the Venier at Sanguinetto, the Gabriele at San Polo, the Zorzi and then the Loredan at Mel, the Brandolin at Valmarino, the Trevisan at San Donà di Piave, all of whom had jurisdiction over the lands and the villages attached to their great country seats. In this way the aristocracy of the lagoons, enriched by commerce and bred in obedience to its own system of laws, was established as a counterpoise to the turbulent original feudal aristocracy of the mainland. Investiture, granted in the name and for the glory of San Marco, conferred either merely civil or else criminal jurisdiction as well, with pure or mixed *imperium*, the grist and bung dues, fines on taverns and slaughter-houses, water rights, rights of sport, road dues, market dues, with all exemptions and privileges *tam de jure quam de consuetudine*. Under the mild rule of the Venetian aristocracy the peasantry were left to live in peace, but neither the laws nor the arms of the Republic served to save from tyranny and outrage the subjects of the petty rural nobility, especially in the district of Friuli.

CHAPTER XII

FASHIONS, COSTUME, AND HEAD-DRESS—SUMPTUARY LAWS

THAT prolific compiler of books, Francesco Sansovino, who is not above the suspicion of plagiary, wrote a dialogue in which Trifone Gabriele instructs a young Venetian gentleman in the art of living, how he should direct his studies, and how best he can avoid the evil and cleave to the good; and among other excellent pieces of advice Trifone urges his pupil to keep "la casa di mediocri ornamenti addobbata, più tosto commoda habitatione che piena di morbidezze, e il corpo vestito di buoni habiti più presto gravi che pomposi."[1] But this sound advice perished still-born betwixt the leaves of Sansovino's pamphlet; art applied to industry brightened every corner of the house, and great were the opportunities for display afforded by the incessant changes of fashion

> Chè l'uso de' mortali è come fronda
> In ramo, che sen va, ed altra viene.

Omitting the ancients, no nation ever showed itself so insatiable in the matter of fashions as the Venetians at the epoch of their greatest splendour[2]; France alone,

[1] Sansovino, *Dialogo del Gemtilhuomo vinitiano*, p. 5. Venetia, 1566. The Dialogue is merely a reproduction of a letter on the duties of a gentleman written by Bernardino Tomitano. See Morelli, J., *I Codici volgari della Libreria Marciana*, p. 123. Venezia, 1776.

[2] In addition to the paintings of the sixteenth century we have valuable evidence on the subject in the works of Ferdinando Bertelli (*Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*. Ven. 1569); of Hans Weigel with Amman's woodcuts (*Habitus praecipuorum populorum*, Norimberga, 1577); of Jean

and then only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, could rival Venice, who had already so long preceded her in multiform and varying refinements of luxury.

Perhaps the chief occupation of Venetian ladies of this period was the assiduous search after new forms of adornment, either to hide defects of person or to heighten their natural charms by the infinite richness and variety of their robes, their embroideries and laces, and by the graceful cut of their apparel. The mercer and the dressmaker ranked as artists, and among the many masters of the shuttle and the scissors in the sixteenth century, Messer Bartolomeo Bontempelli — who, along with his brother Grazioso, kept a shop at the sign of the *Calice* at San Salvatore, near the *calle dei Stagneri*, and sold the most splendid stuffs — and Master Giovanni, who kept a dressmaking establishment at San Lio, figure as important personages in Venetian domestic life. Messer Bartolomeo dal Calice, the pet of Venetian great ladies and of many an Italian princess, made and kept on show at his shop, where he received orders even from *El Serraglio del Gran Turco*, a special quality of watered silk, of taffeta and of flowered brocade, *incarnati, pauonazzeti, et verdicini, che 'l pennello non gli saprebbe dipinger meglio.*[1] These gorgeous stuffs were cut and fitted by the *valentissimo ed acutissimo sartore* Master Giovanni, who turned out "di quante sorti di habiti si possa imaginare da

Jacques Boissard, with the engravings by Goltzius (*Habitus variarum orbis gentium*, 1581); of Cesare Vecellio (*Degli habiti antichi e moderni.* Venezia, per Damian Zenaro, 1590); of Pietro Bertelli (*Diversarum nationum habitus.* Patavii, 1589, 1591, and 1596); of Giacomo Franco (*Habiti d'huomeni et donne Venetiane* and *Habiti delle donne venetiane.* Ven., 1610). We also have some figures of matrons and magistrates of Venice in a work by Alessandro Fabri, of Padua (*Diversarum Nationum ornatus cum suis iconibus*, Padua, 1593) in three octavo volumes containing about 300 plates without text. Such collections as those of Gaignières in the National Library at Paris are fantastic and convey but little idea of Venetian costumes.

[1] Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo.*

Costume of a Venetian Lady, by G. A. Fasólo.
(Dresden, Royal Gallery)

huomo e da donna et massime di veste alla venetiana, che sono molto difficili da fare," with such good taste and originality, *tanta esperienza e dottrina, da stupire il mondo*.[1] The shops of the dressmakers, the mercers, the jewellers, — in short, of all those who served the purposes of adornment, — became in fact veritable exhibitions of industrial art,[2] which formed the rendezvous of dames and cavaliers and of all who loved fine stuffs and beautiful ornaments.[3] And the producers of all these graceful objects of luxury not only became rich, but refined their taste by contact with the nobility, learned courtly manners and liberal sentiments, built palaces which they filled with works of art, commissioned pictures for churches in which their own portraits figured, kneeling at the feet of their Saint as though to render thanks for all his benefits.[4] Besides the Bontempelli we must mention the Pasqualini, who migrated from Milan, and by trade in silk amassed such

[1] Fioravanti, *Specchio di scientia*, etc., Chap. IX, p. 26, edit. 1564. A marriage contract of March 15, 1537, between Marco Marcello and Laura Venier (pub. per nozze Médail Occioni-Bonaffons. Venezia, 1905) gives us the cost of making up:

"Una uesta de veludo ruoxa secha cremexin nela qual li sono braza 22 a ducati tre, grossi 18 el brazo	duc. 82 gr. 12
et per pano rosso quarte sie da metter da pe . . .	gr. 9
et per tella bianchiza brazo 1.º per meter soto el casso (stays)	gr. 2
et per manifatura de dita uesta computà sede et cordelle, in tuto lire 6, s. 4	duc. 1
Suma	duc. 83 gr. 23."

[2] See Appendix, Doc. B, No. III, *Inventario di Pasquale Nicola de Bracci mercante di panni di seta a Rialto* (1540).

[3] Jacopo Marmitta, writing to Lodovico Dolce in 1539, records the rendezvous *nelle bottega di M. Gasparo nostro diletto e in quella di M. Francesco Berettaio*. See *Lettere di diversi nobilissimi huomini*, II, 45.

[4] Bartolomeo Bontempelli and his brother Grazioso freely expended their wealth on charity and works of art. Their portraits appear on the altar-piece of Santa Peranda in San Salvatore. In the Academy of Siena is a picture ascribed to Palma Vecchio, but really by Paris Bordon, which represents the Virgin and a Saint with a donor on his knees, who must certainly have been a tailor, for the Saint, who holds a pair of scissors, is Sant' Omobono, the patron of tailors. There is a portrait of a jeweller, also by Bordon, in the Pinacoteca at Munich.

wealth that they built the beautiful Gothic palace at San Maurizio that was afterwards acquired by the Zaguri, and filled it with works of art, among them a painting by Antonello da Messina (1475), in which we see the portrait of Alvise Pasqualini in a scarlet cloak with a black hood over his shoulder.[1] There was also the family of Menor, called *dalla Gatta* from the sign of their shop; they came from Fermo in the fifteenth century, and grew rich enough to own considerable house property at San Giuliano near the *Ponte dei Pignoli*, where there is still a record of them in the handsome well-head which bears their family coat of arms and two cats, their house-mark. On March 5, 1506, there died at San Giuliano another wealthy mercer, Pietro di Reni, "uno rico popular, qual era marzer, morto senza fiolli à lassà ducati 60 milia" to the State and to charities.[2]

But however able these mercers and dressmakers might be, they were not adequate to the demand for artistic refinements in dress, and artists even of considerable name readily found an opening in the millinery business; for example, we find Cesare Vecellio designing laces and embroideries, and the Mosaicist Valerio Zuccato, instead of attending to the great mosaic of the Apocalypse at San Marco, to which *parum vel nihil dabat operam*, spent his time in a shop he kept at SS. Filippo e Giacomo, where he sketched patterns for *cuffie, vesture e frastagli*.[3]

Clothed in the splendour of these gorgeous stuffs and wearing such exquisite jewelry, the great ladies of Venice appeared with the majesty and grace of so many queens. The German friar Felix Faber in 1488 was present at a *fête* where he saw the Venetian ladies of the aristocracy *cotanto in arnese* that he forgot for an

[1] *Not. dell'Anonimo*, ed. Frizzoni, p. 150.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VI, 307.
[3] Arch. di Stato, Proc. *de supra*, B[2] 78, Proc. 183.

instant the austerity of his frock, and declared that he seemed to see "Venere colle ancelle discesa dal monte a lei diletto, e con esse loro mandata da Satanasso a tentarci."[1] By the light of the candles in the palace halls, by the light of the sun on the promenade at San Marco or Santo Stefano, these golden ornaments, these gems, the yellow taffetas, the velvets of crimson, green, pale blue, the silks of cardinal red, *all' alessandrina*, the damasks figured in gold or silver, turquoise-blue, olive-green, carnation-rose, the murrey-coloured brocade with gold and crimson patterns, the silvery camlets with purple stripes, the watered silks shot with green and purple, the pure white, or lapis lazuli or pomegranate dyes of the cloth, furnished a pageant of colour such as Venice alone could display.[2]

The very personification of this feminine sumptuousness was, of course, the Dogaressa herself; she had her place in the great public ceremonies, where she appeared in the Piazza surrounded by her court of ladies and gentlemen-in-waiting; her robes were of gold brocade lined with ermine, her train was of enormous length, and she wore a ducal bonnet of gold studded with gems, from which a light veil of silk fell over her shoulders; her bosom was ablaze with diamonds and pearls, and a golden girdle clasped her waist and fell to her feet.[3] At private receptions she wore a dress with close-fitting sleeves called a *dogalina;* it was made of crimson velvet or satin, and her bonnet, on these occasions, was of the same material sown with diamonds and pearls. From the opening of the sixteenth century onward, the Doge's robes hardly changed at all, nor did those of the

[1] Faber, *Evagatorium*, cit. See Lazari's translation for the part that refers to Venice.

[2] See Appendix, Doc. B., Nos. II, IV and V. *Inventari di Chiara Marcello* (1534), *della casa del Procuratore di San Marco Lorenzo Correr* (1584), *e di Maria Pollani* (1590). See *Beccaria, Una pirateria e un inventario*, p. 19.

[3] Vecellio, *Habiti*, Plate on p. 59.

Dogaressa, in spite of the universal feminine desire for novelty. When the noble ladies of Venice abandoned the cumbersome costume called the *dogalina* for a lighter dress, they introduced undervests with *sberne*, *investidure*[1] with pads of tow, or cotton, or even of wood, called *faldiglie*[2] (farthingales), the early germ of the crinoline. With a fine feeling for effect, they would sometimes throw over their rich-coloured robes a fine black veil, which fell from the crown of the head over the shoulders to the ground, and lent a singular attraction to their person, in the judgment of Aretino, who was a connoisseur in such matters.

> . . . Sotto il nero trasparente velo
> Veggonsi in carne gli angioli del cielo.[3]

This veil gradually took the form of the black silk mantiglia (*cendadum*, *zendado*) which was fastened at the waist, turned up over the head, and framed the face; it was known as the *vesta* or *cendà*, and resembled the *ninzioleto bianco* of the women of the people, and the *tonda* of the Chioggians, a half skirt of white or coloured cotton fastened at the waist, and thrown up over the head with folds falling round the face. The *tonda* was also known as the *bocassin* from a certain quality of cotton (*bocassinus*) from which it was made. This white veil (*tonda*) of the people and the black mantiglia (*cendà*) of the aristocracy are both in use to this day, and were a peculiar and characteristic feature of Venetian costume of the Settecento. Both may possibly trace their origin to the remotest prehistoric period of Venetian life; for in the museum at Este, among the many objects of interest laid bare by excavations, we find a bronze statuette of a female figure, clearly the work of the rudest local art, in the pre-Roman

[1] Pellissier, *La loi somptuaire de Trevise en 1507* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XIV, 52 et seq.).
[2] Vecellio, *Habiti*, p. 189.
[3] Luzio, *Pietro Aretino ne'primi suoi anni a Venezia*, p. 39.

The Dogaresse Zilia Dandolo Priuli (1557) and Loredana Marcello Mocenigo (1570) — from the "Cerimoniali." (Venice, Arch. di Stato)

period; this figure has its head covered by a cloth, which, instead of falling freely over the shoulders and arms down towards the ground, is caught in tightly at the waist; and here, according to a competent judge, we have the prototype of the *cendà* and the *tonda*.[1]

But, to return to the period under consideration, the characteristic of the age, as far as dress is concerned, is a search for new forms and complicated refinements. Belts and buckles were constantly changing their shape, and the demand for them was so great that a special trade guild, the guild of the *centureri* and *fiuberi*,[2] was founded and flourished. The bands which used to support the breasts were replaced by metal corsets fastened with a screw that could tighten them, or with metal springs, veritable instruments of torture, which, however, towards the close of the sixteenth century were superseded by stays stiffened with whalebone.[3] The ruff, too, was stretched on wire (*vergole*), and rose sometimes above the top of the head. Dresses were trimmed with beads and bugles, which had come into fashion as early as the fourteenth century. Buttons were made of rock-crystal (*christallo de montagna*), and gilded crystal was used for girdles, ear-rings,[4] hairpins, and chains.[5] A complete revolution in dress was produced by the invention of lace, — the most aristocratic of personal adornments. Lace at once assumed its place as the refined and graceful adjunct of all clothing,

[1] Ghirardini, *La collezione Baratela di Este*, pp. 60, 61. Roma, 1888. The objects in this collection were found on the Baratela property at Este. The *stipe barateliana* clearly belonged to an ancient dell of the district, and the figures and statuettes have the character of votive offerings.

[2] The *centureri* were concentrated in the Merceria di San Giuliano. The *fiuberi* gave their name to the *Calle Fiubera*. They had their guild hall at San Felice, close to the church, and were under the protection of the Virgin of the Assumption.

[3] Gelli, *Un po' di storia del busto e della fascetta* (in the *Emporium* for June, 1903).

[4] See Appendix, Doc. B, No. V, *Invent. di Maria Pollani*.

[5] Isabella d'Este in 1491 wrote to Venice for bead chains to wear round the neck. Bertolotti, *Le Arti min. alla Corte di Mantova*, p. 1007.

even of gloves and shoes, but more especially of every kind of linen, dressing-gowns (*rocchetti*), caps, chemises, petticoats, hose, drawers, handkerchiefs. At this period personal linen begins to take a larger place in inventories, and the physician Rangone did not hesitate to give advice which must have seemed a counsel of perfection for those days, when he enjoined his clients to keep themselves "mondi la vita di camicia, di calce, di lenzuola e somiglianti, spesso spesso, ogni settimana mutati."[1] To us this hardly seems excessive, and Francesco Sansovino in his *Venetia* bears witness to the *dilicatezza et politia* of Venetian women, who owned copious supplies of linen, and employed linen and silk for their underclothing, elaborately "ricamati, fregiati, lavorati, strisciati et di nuovo ridotti a bellezza con l'artificio dell' ago, della seta, dell'argento, dell'oro."[2] Handkerchiefs of linen and even of *seda schietta* were striped with gold thread[3] or fringed with lace[4]; silk socks of various colours were *listade de razo* or with gold[5]; *i calzoni che non si veggono*[6] (i. e., drawers) were trimmed with lace and fine embroidery, petticoats embroidered and striped in floss-silk, even nightgowns were made of the finest linen trimmed with lace, crochet-work, with elaborate collars, embroidered with gold thread, pleasant enough to see if not to touch. After the close of the Middle Ages gloves came into common use, and women's gloves were *bellissimi*, *trinciati*, *profumati*,[7]

[1] Rangone, op. cit., p. 12.

[2] Sansovino, *Venetia*, Lib. X.

[3] *Invent. di Maria Pollani.*

[4] *Invent. di Goretta Longo-Malipiero* (1562) pub. per nozze Bertolini-Guggenheim. Venezia, 1902.

[5] *Contratto di nozze del 1537.* Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 15.

[6] *La Pazzia*, 1561. This work by an anonymous writer is merely a recasting of Erasmus' famous treatise, but it adds some touches on the customs of the times.

[7] Rossi, *Raccolta Costumi.* MS. at the Marciana, Vol. II. A sumptuary law of the Senate (September 29, 1535) mentions "li guanti lauorati d'oro, d'argento, et di seta et d'ogni altra cosa con ferreti d'oro e d'argento." *Parte diuerse et ordeni in materia delle pompe.* Pinelli, op. cit.

sometimes made of lace, silk and painted leather. The pattens of great height, which in the early days were necessary, owing to the filthy state of the streets, became later on an object of great attention, and were made of brocade, cloth of gold studded with jewels, and so high that they resembled stilts.[1] This led Pietro Casola to believe that Venetian women must have been, for the most part, very short "perchè quando non fossero così, non userebero le zibre, aliter pianelle, tanto alto quanto fanno; che invero ne ho veduto qualche paro, che sono alte almeno mezo brazo milanese e tanto alte che portandole alcune pareno giganti."[2] A century later Garzoni made a similar observation, declaring that pattens "alle signore Venetiane danno grandezza tale che per la piazza di San Marco ci par veder le nane convertite in gigantesse."[3] Casola observed that, thanks to this absurd custom, the women "non vanno secure dal caschare, se non vanno bene apogiate a le schiave"; and as a matter of fact the height of the pattens prevented Venetian ladies from moving quickly, and not infrequently they fell and hurt themselves, so that they were forced to lean on the shoulders of their servants. Other servants followed in their train, and a matron's position was indicated by the length of her suite. The popular verses of the *Massare* recall this custom:

Compagnar po la patrona
Co la va fuera de chà
Sol la Fante a questo è buona,
Chiaramente ognun il sà,
Et chi più drieto ghe ne hà
Più da conto e degna pare.[4]

[1] The Museo Civico has several specimens; one pair measures 43 centimetres in height, another 51. In the *Contratto di nozze del 1537* we find:

"Un paro di zocholi de raxo bianco, tra el raxo e la fatura L. 4. s. 8
Un paro de veludo negro L. 2.
Un paro de pano d'oro tirado et veludo cremexin L. 10. s. 6.
} duc. 3.

[2] Casola, *Viaggio*, cit., p. 14.

[3] *Piazza*, p. 823.

[4] *Canzone delle massare* (Menghini), op. cit.

But in spite of prohibitions and in spite of popular satire the height of these dangerous and ugly pattens continued to grow; though they found an apologist here and there, — Fabrizio Caroso da Sermoneta, for example, who undertook to explain minutely how the *zoccoli* should be worn.[1]

Gems and jewels also gave opportunity for senseless display. The noble ladies appeared on public occasions loaded with pearls, diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, agates, amethysts, beryls, topaz, and garnets, with rings on all the fingers, bracelets all up the arms, tiaras on the head, and it was difficult to say whether the stones or their settings were of higher value. To quote once more Pietro Casola, that acute observer, he assures us that he saw on one occasion in a single reception-room five and twenty damsels *una più bella che l'altra*, who had "tante zoie tra el capo, in collo e in mano, cioè auro, pietre preziose e perle, che era opinione de quelli erano lì, fosse el valsente de cento miglia ducati," that is to say, upwards of forty thousand pounds of our money. Philippe Devoisins, Seigneur de Montaut, who was in Venice in 1490, tells us that he noted several brides who had "pierreries sur leurs robes, vaillant chascune plus de trente ou quarante mil ducatz."[2] Ruffs were adorned with rosettes of pearls, cloaks sewn with golden bosses, the fastenings of bodices studded with gems, the sticks of fans gilded and incrusted with jewels, and, in the words of Sanudo, you could not find "cussì triste e povera donna patritia, che non havesse de ducati 500 in dedo de anelli, senza le perle grosse, cossa incredibil a creder."[3] But we are in duty bound to remember that all this wealth of personal ornament did not serve solely to feed feminine vanity, but was

[1] *Nobiltà di dame.* Venetia, 1605.

[2] Devoisins (1445?–1500?), *Voyage en Jérusalem* (1490). D'Ancona, *Viaggio del Montaigne*, p. 605. Città di Castello, 1889.

[3] Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 34.

(A)

(B)

. — Venetian Pattens (XVI century). (Paris, Hôtel de
luny.) B — Ladies drying their hair by means of the
lana — from the "Customs" of Vecellio and Bertelli

more than once spontaneously offered to the State in its hour of need. It is worth noting that ear-rings came into use only in 1525. A noble lady Foscari-Sanudo wore ear-rings for the first time on December 6 of that year, at a party in Casa Bragadin. "Cossa notanda!" says Marin Sanudo, who describes his kinswoman with her ears pierced, "al costume di more, e con uno aneleto d'oro sotil portava una perla grossa per banda; cossa che lei sola porta, et mi dispiacque assai."[1] But new fashions cannot be defeated. The fan, on the other hand, made its appearance very early in the history of Venetian costume. In its early form it consisted of a short stick with a square flag-shaped piece of embroidered paper or stuff. Later on Burano lace came to be used, or feathers or rare leathers, and the fan was attached to the girdle by a little chain. The sticks were made of ivory or tortoise-shell or precious metals and were engraved or crusted with gems, and became so costly that the government was forced to intervene and to prohibit *li ventoli che le donne havevano principiato uxar* (1522), that is to say, fans *de lovi cervieri et zebellini cum li manegi d'oro et d'arzento cum zoglie et perle per sopra*, allowing the use of plain fans only *de penne simplice cum li manegi de osso negro over avolio* (1525) *schietto senza alcun lavoro o intaglio nè di ora nè di argento* (1530).[2] The fan soon passed from the patricians to the people, their fans being usually made of straw, with a bit of looking-glass in the centre, or of pierced parchment, or of paper painted in patterns or figures. In the sixteenth century scenes of chivalry and the portraits of Orlando and Rinaldo were in vogue; then came the fashion of representing current events, grotesques or caricatures, hence the phrases *roba da ventoli* applied

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XL, 425.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*. In the *Contratto di nozze*, already quoted, we get "Un ventaglio de pene rosse et bianche cum el suo manego de osso bianco . . . duc. 2 gr. 12 et per la sua scattola da tenirlo dentro duc. 0, gr. 4."

to any one who made a fool of himself, and *andar sui ventoli*, which means to become a laughing-stock.[1]

The mode of dressing the hair was constantly undergoing change. In the Cinquecento, as a general rule, fashion required that the forehead should be left bare, while in the preceding century women wore *le crine ante li ogii*, as Casola observed; he adds that hair was for the most part false, and was sold by the country folk, who hung it out for sale *in belle perticate sopra la Piazza de Sancto Marcho*.[2] The hair was treated in various ways, either flowing, or curled, or plaited with ribbons and pearls (*bugoli*), or dressed like a crescent moon with its horns turned up, or twisted into a pyramid, as that learned lady Laura Cereto of Brescia (b. 1469, d. 1499) tells us, "Harum hanc atque illam ex alienis capillis in summum verticem turritus nodus adstringit."[3] About the middle of the sixteenth century the towering *tupé* came into vogue, and women began to dress their hair *dalle orecchie con ordine diritto fino in cima della fronte*. No pains were spared to acquire the colour and the glint of gold. It is true that the blond was the ideal type of feminine beauty, even in the Middle Ages, but it was only in the fifteenth century that it became the fashion to bleach the hair artificially.[4] To that end all the women of Venice were accustomed to wash the head *con una sponzetta ligata a la cima di un fuso*; the hair was then dyed with various preparations, and washed again with *liscia forte con mille aromati dentro, lume di feccia, scorze di narancia, cenere,*

[1] Urbani de Gheltof, *I ventoli veneziani*. Per nozze Molmenti-Brunati. Venezia, 1885.

[2] Casola, *Viaggio*, p. 14. In two of the capitals of the lower loggia of the Ducal Palace we see specimens of hair-dressing in the fifteenth century.

[3] Laure Ceretae, *Brixensis feminae clarissimae Epistolae*, p. 68. Patavii, 1640.

[4] So Polifilo asserts. See *Les femmes blondes selon les peintres vénitiens*, pp. 45, 46. Aubry, Paris, 1865. Renier (*Il tipo estetico della donna, etc.*, p. 131. Ancona, 1885) cites some evidence that artificial bleaching was not unknown in the Middle Ages.

Young Lady at her Toilette, by Paris Bordon. *Photo by Lövy*
(Vienna, National Gallery)

scorze di uovo, solfo e mille altro vanità.[1] To dry the hair after the foregoing treatment they sat in the sun on the roofs of their houses, in those little open loggias called *altane*, with a dressing-gown round them and a large crownless straw hat on their heads, called a *solana*, over the brim of which their hair was spread out, falling down on their shoulders, which were protected by a cape of cloth or silk called a *schiavoneto*.[2] As a curiosity we quote the following receipt for producing golden hair; it is to be found in a contemporary transcript of the *Aforismi* of Arnoldo da Villanova, the famous French physician of the fourteenth century[3]: "Tuolli centaurea onze 4, draganti gumma rabicha ana onze 2, sauon saldo onze 1, lume de feza L. 1 e fa bolire, e puo' te unzi li capilli al sole." This fashion of treating the hair, common to Venice above all other countries, explains why almost all the women in Venetian pictures are represented with auburn tresses.

The great variety of fashions in dressing the hair brought with it a corresponding variety of head-dresses. There were caps *alla forestiera*, coifs with two lace lappels descending to the shoulders, set with pearls and gems, coifs of gold or silver thread; hoods *in cheba*, that is, stiffened with metal wire so as to form a kind of cage (*cheba*), frontlets for the forehead, kerchiefs of fine linen adorned with pearls, and fastened by a thread of pearls, and ducal tiaras in gold. Very characteristic was a species of turban (*balzo*), of which we have a specimen in a portrait by Pordenone, a head-dress that was exaggerated by the provincial taste of the ladies on the mainland, for example, in Lotto's portrait of a Contessa Grumelli of Bergamo. Some of these head-dresses

[1] Passi, *Donneschi difetti*, Disc. XXIII. Ven., 1618.

[2] Vecellio, op. cit. Passi, op. cit. *Les femmes blondes*, cit., etc.

[3] Museo Civico, Cod. Cicogna, 1248. The Marciana also contains *ricette a far biondi i capelli*, in a MS. *Ricettario* (Cl. III, Cod. IX, pp. 21, 53). Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 321, gives a receipt, and others are published in *Les femmes blondes*.

reached incredible prices, and a writer of the Seicento, Aprosio da Ventimiglia, affirms "che non è hiperbole ma verità, che tal capelliera alla moda con tutti i suoi finimenti non vaglia meno di millecinquecento ducati."[1]

Although the use of pure water for purposes of personal cleanliness was not too much in vogue, the consumption of perfumes and scented waters was excessive. In the toilet chambers of the rich, with their *casselletta da cavo* (comb-cases), dressing-tables covered with fine linen and lace and loaded with hundreds of rouge-pots and washes, crowded with cosmetics,[2] perfumes, ivory combs, gilt-backed brushes, and tweezers of gold,[3] the ladies of Venice incessantly consulted the glass for inspiration in devising fresh refinements of fashion. One of their chief cares was to correct the pallor of the cheeks with rouge, which was used even for the unseemly purpose of brightening the breasts; these were left bare, and the famous *espoitrinement à la façon de Venise*[4] acquired a

[1] Scipio Glareano (Aprosio da Ventimiglia), *Lo scudo di Rinaldo, ovvero lo specchio del disinganno*, p. 98. Venezia, Hertz, 1646.

[2] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 591.

[3] The will of Bernardino Zanchi (1524), at the Museo Civico, speaks of *uno ventaio e di uno spegio d'oro*. For other toilet utensils see Ludwig, in the *Italienische Forschungen*, published by the Istituto di Storia dell'Arte di Firenze, Vol. I. Berlin, 1906.

[4] Estienne, Henri, *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desguizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps*, ed. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1885. (The first edition is of 1578.) In the dialogue between Philausone and Celtophile the former speaks of the *espoitrinement des dames et damoiselles: Celt.* Qu'est-ce à dire espoitrinement? *Phil.* Qu'elles vont espoitrinées, c'est à dire (si encore vous n'entendez ce mot, le quel toutesfois est Bon Frances) ayans la poitrine toute descouverte. *Celt.* Vrayment c'est bien à la façon de Venise, et il ne leur faloit plus que cela pour se rendre bien qualifiées. Mais vont-elles autant descouvertes qu'à Venise? *Phil.* Bien peu s'en faut: et quant à aucunes, il ne s'en faut rien. *Celt.* . . . ces dames de la cour sont deja courtisanes, à la façon que les gentilshommes de la cour sont courtisans: mais de celles qui font ainsi leurs monstres à la Venitienne, il y auroit bien danger que quelques unes ne fussent aussi courtisanes d'autre sort: c'est assavoir a la Venitienne" (I, 274). Speaking of the *calcagnetti*, or pattens *alla Veneziana*, Philausone says: "Quant aux dames de notre cour, je pense que peu usent de patins ou mules de telle hauteur: et n'est pas une chose, qui se puisse cognoistre sans prendre garde de bien pres a leur allure" (I, 242).

world-wide notoriety. Casola remarked that not only had the *damiselle* their faces *molto bene depento*, but also *el resto del nudo che se vedeva*,[1] while a poet of the people,[2] noting that the great ladies spent the livelong day before the glass,

> Fazzandose le tete rosse e bianche
> E descoverte per galantaria,

laments that the bad habit found imitators among the women of his own class,

> Fino quele che laua le scuele
> No se uergogna d'esser sbeletae,

and gave them a piece of good advice,

> No ue impiastrè i bei uisi con beleto
> Ch'el ne uasta le carne e ue le stropia.

But the women were never at a loss to find other expedients to preserve the softness and brilliancy of their cheeks, and at night time they were wont to apply to their faces a slice of raw veal which had been soaked some hours in milk,[3] or employed solutions of alum,

[1] As to the custom of leaving the breasts bare, Casola (p. 15) says: "Esse donne veneziane se forzano quanto pono in pubblico, precipue le belle, de mostrare el petto, dico le mamelle et le spalle, intanto che più volte vedendole me sono maravigliato che li panni non ghe siano cascati dal dosso. Quelle che possono, et anche quelle che non possono, de veste sono molto pompose ed hanno de grandi zoje, perle in frixi in capo, al collo; portano de molti anelli in dito, de grandi balassi, robini et diamanti. Ho dicto anche quelle che non possono, perchè mi fu dicto che molte ne pigliavano in fitto. Vanno molto artificiate in el volto, et in quelle parti mostrano, acciò che pareno più belle." To put an end to this excessive display of their person, Antonio Persio (*Trattato dei portamenti della Signoria*, cit.) mentions a provision suggested by a Jesuit and accepted by the government, but of which we have found no traces. Here are the words of Persio: "tornando dal Concilio di Trento il Padre Alfonso Salmerone Giesuita, et fermatosi in Venetia a predicare, vedendo le nobili Venetiane andare con le spalle, et col petto coloritto, che a guisa di specchio vi si potevano le genti rimirare, si messe a biasimare questo abuso, con tanto fervore, eloquenza, et spirito, che fece alzare i corpetti delle Donne sopra le mamelle, et in cambio di quello sottilissimo velo, che portavano sopra la carne, ordinò che si facessero un giupone accolato, che dal nome del Predicatore fu detto, et è ancora nominato il Salmerone."

[2] Caravia, *Naspo bizaro*, Canto II.

[3] Rossi, *Raccolta*, cit., II, 52.

of borax, extract of peach stones, of beans, lemon juice, bread crumbs, and even vinegar distilled with dung.[1] The number of extravagant receipts was endless, and there were a thousand prescriptions for removing stains or *per mondar via i peli d'onde vuoi*,[2] or to render hands and feet soft, finger nails rosy, the skin smooth and sweet.[3]

Throughout Italy of the sixteenth century the passion for perfumes amounted to a mania. From the cap on the head to the shoes on the feet, gloves, — to such an extent that at Milan the guild of glovers and perfumers was one and the same, — socks, shirts, even money, all was scented.[4] And as if that were not enough, they carried on their persons pouncet-boxes filled with scented unguents, and held in their hands chaplets of amber, not *per divotione*, *ma per lascivia*,[5] and smelling-bottles. We find in the inventories hairpins of amber, *monili con perle e bottoni d'ambra*, and *recchini con perle d'ambra*. They put musk in their baths and amber, and aloes, and myrrh, peppermint, jonquil, Indian plum, cinnamon, ammomum, and other scents, which they bought *più che a peso d'oro*.[6]

An anonymous writer of the Cinquecento attacks the luxurious habits of Venetian ladies "in far candida la pelle, e colorite le guance, e le labra, nè fu, nè mai sarà pittore, che alli loro segni aggiunga. Del stillar acque di gomme, draganti, lume di rocca, argenti solimati, e simil misture per far lucida e tirar la pelle, di modo

[1] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 599.

[2] This is the depilatory recommended in the *Ricettario* in the Marciana: "Orpimento | Calcina uiua | Gomma arabica | Uova di formica | An. on. 1. E dipoi farai ranno di cenere di cerro et poi piglia le sopradette cose et incorporale bene con il ranno et ungi dove vuoi levare i peli et guarda gli occhj et fa buono effetto."

[3] Marinello, *Ornamenti delle donne*, Lib. I. Venezia, 1610.

[4] Verga, *Le leggi sunte, e la decadenza dell'industria a Milano*. Milano, 1900.

[5] *La Pazzia*, cit.

[6] Ibid.

che altri ne i loro volti specchiar si possa, per certo ne hanno tutta l'arte intiera; la pezzuola, i saponetti, le pomate, li stecchetti, e le polveri per i denti e per li fiati, moscardini, ogli, et acque odorate di mille sorte già più non apprezzano per hauerle i Profumieri troppo divolgate, di poluere di Cipri, aloe, bengioi, muschi, zibetti, ambra, et altri infiniti odori, vanno sempre cariche."[1] Fra Bernardino Occhino launches out against the *biache*, *solimati*, *acque stellate*, *ampolline*, *punte*, *puntette*, *muschi*, and *tutte le frascherie*,[2] and turning on the rouged and painted ladies of Venice, he exclaims: "Io son ben contento che uoi andiate assettate e polite e ben uestite, secondo il grado uostro, ma . . . non tanto depingerui, che me ne uergogno da parte uostra. Deh di gratia contentatiue della bellezza, che Dio ui ha dato . . . che io ui prometto che uoi parerete molto più belle. . . . Oh tu dirai: io il faccio per piacere al mio marito. Oh se il fai per piacere al tuo marito, lisciati la notte ch'io sono molto ben contento."[3]

The patrician ladies, whose luxury in dress was

[1] *La Pazzia*, cit. Fioravanti (op. cit., p. 106) mentions "M. Domenico Ventura Muschiaro, alla insegna del Giglio in Merceria di Venetia, quale al presente è uno de' più rari in tal professione, che si truoui in tutta Europa: come ben lo sa il mondo; percioche gliè conosciuto dalla maggior parte delli Principi Christiani, imperoche nella sua Bottega ciene cose rare al mondo." It was at this shop at the sign of the Lily that, in 1574, Henry III bought 1125 crowns worth of musk. De Nolhac and Solerti, *Il Viaggio*, cit., pp. 138, 249. Ten years earlier there was a musk-vender at the sign of the Lily called Giacomo of Milan. In the *Italianische Forschungen* (p. 342) Ludwig has published the inventories of the *muschieri* and *petteneri*.

[2] Occhino, *Prediche*, p. 69.

[3] Ibid., p. 73. Laura Cereto also inveighs against the relaxed habits of Venetian women: "Aliae fragrantes odoribus paliolo subteguntur arabico. Nec desunt, quae cum scaligeris suppedalibus inuersos pelle proferant soccos. Est et pervulgatum in omnes, quod lautiores alie sindonicis fasciolis euincta mollius crura subtexunt. Emollitum multae premunt panem in vultum. Multae distentam a rugis falso cutem expoliunt; sunt vero paucae quibus non sanguineae facies cerusae candore pingantur: aliae alio et exquisitore cultu formosiores videri nituntur, quiam conditor formae disposuit. Pudet irreverentiae quarundam, lacteas genas ostro rubentium, quae furtiuis ocellis, et ridentibus buccis venenata intuentium corda transuerberant."

imitated even by their servants, set the fashion for the wives of the wealthy citizens and merchants, who in the matter of dress *mostravano poca differenza dalle nobili*[1]; and their influence was felt even on the mainland, as we see from the portraits of the ladies of the country towns.

Men's costume, on the other hand, was severer, less subject to changes of fashion, and retained something of the antique seriousness. The young men, however, before they settled down to their public career, indulged in refinement of dress and willingly followed the fashion. As a matter of fact, it was the head of the State himself who set the example. The Doge was always expected to appear in great magnificence. To mention a single point—during the sixteenth century the ducal bonnet used on State occasions was set with gems amounting to the value of 194,092 ducats, equal to upwards of two hundred and forty thousand pounds.[2] After the reign of Niccolò Marcello (1473) the ceremonial robes of the Doge were invariably made of cloth of gold; but in 1523 Andrea Gritti, a man of fine presence who paid much attention to his person, introduced a change of colour in the robes of state, and adorned the mantle with silver floriations and rich laces.[3] His successors did not rest there, but continued to increase the sumptuousness of the ducal dress on State occasions. In private the Doge wore a red bonnet, purple cloak with large sleeves and a train, and red stockings. The people of Venice themselves contributed to the splendour of the Doge's costume; for the ducal stipend, which, according to Venetian custom was paid every three months, consisted not only of money raised

[1] Franco, *Habiti delle donne*, p. 10.

[2] Cecchetti, *Il doge di Venezia*, p. 28.

[3] Sanudo (*Diarî*, XL, 767), under date February, 1525, describes the Doge Andrea Gritti, "vestito di restagno d'oro, di martoro, con uno manto bianco e d'oro a fioroni et la bareta *etiam* bianca con frizi d'oro e col bavaro di armelini."

partly from demain lands and partly supplied by the treasury, but also of tribute in kind, goods, stuffs contributed by the townships, monasteries, and confraternities. For instance, the township of Piove di Sacco was bound to furnish a certain quantity of linen; the Mercers' Guild, "una tasca di velluto cremesin con l'arma darzento del principe"; the fustian and bombazine Mercers furnished the ducal bed and table linen, and the Barbers paid the Doge's furrier's bill.[1] Every class of the population entertained the idea that magnificence of dress added to the dignity of the person and of the office. In 1502 the two Venetian ambassadors destined for a mission to Ferrara, on the occasion of the wedding of Alfonso d'Este with Lucrezia Borgia, were required to appear before the Senate in their robes, which consisted of a great crimson velvet mantle lined with ermine and a hood to match. These robes took in one case thirty-two, and in the other twenty-eight, yards of stuff.[2] Sanudo, too, does not fail to record that General Bartolomeo d'Alviano had "ordinato uno saio damaschin bianco listà d'oro batudo bellissimo e di gran precio, lavorado, et una sopra veste di cavallo pur bianca listada a oro, *ut supra*, bellissima e di gran valuta, con la qual voleva far l'intrada con il Re, a Milan."[3] All the same the dress of Venetian men never ran to vulgar or ridiculous extravagances. Monsignor della Casa bears witness on this point. "Le penne," he says, "che i Napoletani e gli Spagnuoli usavano di portare in capo, e le pompe e i ricami, male hanno luogo tra le robe degli uomini gravi, e tra gli abiti cittadini: . . . sicchè quello che in Verona per avventura converrebbe, si disdirà in Vinezia; perciocchè questi così fregiati, e così

[1] *Notizie d'antiche costumanze dei dogi di Venezia* (from a MS. of 1599) per nozze Michiel-Morosini. Padova, 1840.

[2] Arch. di Modena, *Disp. dell'inviato ferrarese ad Ercole* (January 25, 1502), quoted by Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Lib. II.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XX, 398 (July 19, 1515).

impennati non istanno bene in quella veneranda città pacifica e moderata . . . e sono poco ricevuti nelle nobili brigate, siccome difformi da loro."[1] As a matter of fact, the usual dress for the magistrates out of doors was the toga of cloth, of velvet, or of damask, either black or (down to the seventeenth century) purple, lined in summer with silk, and in winter with rare furs; it reached to the feet, and was clasped at the throat, where the shirt collar was allowed to show.[2] To Casola they all seemed like so many doctors of laws, and he adds that if anyone "parisse fora de caxa senza la toga sarebbe riputato pazzo."[3] The stole was worn of the same colour and stuff as the toga, and fell over the left shoulder; it was used to protect the head against rain and cold. The wide sleeves were called *dogaline*, and *a comeo* was the name for the sleeves tight round the wrists and puffed at the elbows, which served for carrying the handkerchief, gloves, and papers. Some officers of State and officials wore robes of special colours; for example, the Procurators of San Marco had purple, with wide open sleeves; the Council of Ten, red; Senators, black with a velvet stole; the *Savi*, violet. The Chevaliers of San Marco, the only knightly order known to the Republic, wore a broad golden stole, and, if the Doge had conferred the order, a golden cross at the neck.[4] The hood of ancient usage gave place to caps of various shapes, and to the bonnet *a tozzo*, with a low crown. Sanudo, speaking of the Doge Marco Barbarigo, who died in 1486, records that he wore "capuzo negro a l'antiga, che solo tre mantene il portar del capuzo . . . che tutti li altri de Venezia portavano barete et becheto su la spala."[5] But already,

[1] Della Casa, *Galateo*, Cap. XXXVIII, § 155.

[2] Vecellio; see the plate *Habito ordinario e comune a tutte le nobiltà venetiane*, p. 82.

[3] Casola, *Viaggio*, cit., p. 14.

[4] Bratti, *I cavalieri di San Marco* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XVI, 321 et seq.).

[5] Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, Part III, p. 260.

The Doge on the Throne — from the painting, "The Fisher's Ring," by Paris Bordon. (Venice, Academy)

in 1497, a German traveller thus describes the patricians at a meeting of the Great Council: "Essi sono tutti uomini dignitosi, in begli vestiti che scendono sin ai piedi, *la testa coperta di piccolo berretto*, i capelli corti, la barba lunga."[1] One of the last to keep the fashion of his young days and to wear a hood was Piero di Lorenzo Priuli, Procurator of San Marco (d. 1491), which earned him the nickname of *dal Capuzzo*.[2] Priuli appears in his hood in a picture by Giovanni Bellini, which was once in the chapel of the Santa Croce at San Michele in Isola, and is now in the Academy at Düsseldorf.

Up to the age of twenty-five, the age necessary for admission to the Great Council, the young patricians were not obliged to wear the toga, and took very kindly to foreign fashions, especially French and Spanish, as did the younger members of the Great Council, who would lay aside the toga when not performing their official functions.[3] This implied that the trade of tailor was a flourishing business. The trade was divided into three classes, *da veste*, *da zipponi*, and *da calze*, and they enriched their guild, under the protection of Sant' Omobono and Santa Barbara, with many noble works of art, and were generous to their poorer brethren.[4]

The trade of shoemaker was no less prosperous. As early as the fourteenth century German shoemakers had settled in the lagoons, and had founded a guild

[1] Arnold Von Harf, *Viaggio*, cit., p. 398.

[2] He is so called in the *Genealogie* of Barbaro.

[3] We hear that after a *fête* given by the Compagnia della Calza, the members who had a seat in the Great Council put on their togas and attended a sitting, except three, *che non hanno la età et non vieneno a Conseio*. Sanudo, *Diarí*, VIII, 183.

[4] The guild was erected in 1391 and had its hall in the Campo dei Gesuiti. There is a bas-relief with the Virgin, Santa Barbara, and Sant' Omobono on a house on the *Fondamenta dei Sartori*, near the Jesuits' Church; it bears the following inscription: *Hospedal dei poveri Sartori*, MDXI. In the Campo the cornices of the windows of a house next door to the suppressed monastery of the Crociferi have scissors carved on them.

which, in 1482, owned a hall in the *calle delle Botteghe* at San Samuele; the façade and pilasters of a house in that street still bear the simple but not inelegant forms of various shoes. The Venetian shoemakers founded their guild under the protection of Sant' Aniano in the same century, and down to 1446 they used to meet at the Carità; in that year they moved to a guild hall of their own on the Campo San Tomà, whose façade they adorned with an exquisite piece of Lombardesque bas-relief.[1] The craft was divided into two branches, — the *calegheri*, or the high-class workmen, who turned out shoes of various shapes, pointed, round-toed, square-toed, or with patterns punched on them, and the *zavateri*, who made the clogs worn by the populace and did cobblers' work. The *calegheri* claimed superiority over the *zavateri*, but in the guild hall they met on an equality, voted together, and on a certain day of the year presented the Dogaressa with a pair of pattens, a tribute symbolical of their craft.[2]

The *cappellari* and *barretteri* were engaged in the hat-trade; the latter gave their name to the bridge at San Salvatore, near to which they had their guild hall.[3]

The use of the felt hat was introduced into Venice about the middle of the sixteenth century. The trade in Venetian caps, especially with the Levant, was both ancient and active, as Venetian goods were famous for their quality and their fast colours.

All these tradesmen watched the changes of fashion and ministered to the elegance of Venetian life, and if they did little to modify the severity of official costume they endeavoured to please their younger clients by studying the varying forms of foreign dress. These

[1] The hall was completed in 1479, as is stated on the architrave of the door.

[2] Levi, *Notizie storiche di alcune Scuole d'arti*, p. 51. Venezia, 1895.

[3] The *barretteri* were erected into a guild in 1475, and in 1506 they amalgamated with the *marzeri*, with whom the *cappelleri* too were associated down to the end of the seventeenth century.

young bloods appear in contemporary pictures in close-fitting doublets, without a collar, attached to the hose, with a cloak over the shoulder, and on their heads a plumed cap from under which the hair showers down. The members of the Company of the Hose set the fashion, with their *manege dogal di seda e becheti de seda e d'oro e barete di seda e calze bianche*,[1] as Sanudo describes them in phrases no less vivid than are the brush-strokes of Carpaccio. At the close of the Cinquecento these clubs came to an end, but during their last years the brilliancy of their *fêtes* and the sumptuousness of their costumes reached an amazing pitch; their dress consisted of a long cloak of silk brocade, or velvet, or satin, an elaborate doublet, and hose embroidered in gold and silver, sown with pearls and gems, especially the right leg, which was "tutta guarnita di diamanti, rubini, smeraldi, zaffiri, perle grossissime ed altre variate gioie di prezzo."[2] The presidents of the various sections wore an even more elaborate dress. In May of 1533 the *Cortesi* held high festival for the election of Agostino Quirini Stampalia as president. He appeared in the church of Santo Stefano, *conzada excelentissimamente* for the occasion, "vestito di sotto damaschin cremexin, di zendado di sora, et un manto di raso cremexin aperto su la spala destra, con campanoni d'oro, et una cadena d'oro grossissima al collo, qual è di uno ciprioto, di valuta di ducati mille, li altri compagni numero 18, tutti questi zoè vestiti damaschin cremesin a comedo et becheto di veludo negro. Il Signor havea in testa una bareta di veludo negro alla spagnuola, bassa con un bel zoielo sopra, li altri barete di lana."[3] The dress of noble-born children was also elaborate; they wore little doublets of silk or satin with gold buttons, embroidery, lace, and on their heads

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XII, 16, and XIII, 483.
[2] Malespini, Celio, *Ducento Novelle*, p. 110.
[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, LVIII, 182.

little black caps "a torno de' quali un velo cinto, o ghirlande di margaritine di bella vista, con qualche medaglia o pietra pretiosa."[1] Citizens of mature age and of high standing, such as doctors and lawyers, wore the toga, as did the nobles, only it was always of black cloth. The clergy imitated the patricians in their dress until the close of the Cinquecento, when clerical costume was definitely settled and the ecclesiastical *biretta* was introduced in place of the cap. The black gowns of the ordinary clergy, the blue or purple of parish priests and canons, often lined with fur or red taffeta, were caught in at the waist by a silver girdle. In the sixteenth century it was customary for ecclesiastics to wear a beard, and down to the middle of the Seicento, in spite of prohibitions, they wore both whiskers and imperial.[2] The mail armour of the soldiery was of the type common to the rest of Italy, nor was there anything very distinctive in the dress of the men and women of the people. Some articles of clothing were clearly copied from the East and retained their Oriental form and name; for example, the *cafetan*, a long gown made of cloth with large sleeves, and the *zamberlucco*, which had tight sleeves and a hood. But in their way of wearing their dress and in the brilliant but harmonious colours they affected, the Venetian populace — the arsenal hands, the gondoliers, the well-to-do mechanics, the humbler dock hands (*bastazi*), and porters — offered a picturesque spectacle. And the women of the people, the fruit-sellers from the islands, and the peasantwomen of the mainland were not without a certain characteristic grace of costume, as they thronged to the city markets, especially the great fair of Ascensiontide. But even the people gradually came under the influence of foreign fashions, which crept into the native taste, and

[1] Vecellio, *Habito di giovani della citta*, p. 124.
[2] Gallicciolli, I, 412, 425; II, 1706.

made Andrea Calmo lament the days when the Venetians wore "le calze a la martingala, le so scarpe e zocoli de cuoro, e la bereta assetà, radai che i pareva tante maioliche lusente, e no ste foze a la forestiera strataiaie e recamae e incordonae, che diè il malanno al primo, che le ha portae in luse, ruina e desfation de una fameia."[1] Priuli expresses the same idea in his *Diari*, written at the opening of the Cinquecento. He complains of the "vestimenti alla francese troppo inseriti nell'interno dei genii, ancorchè la nazione fosse così odiata da tutta l'Italia." And still later Francesco Sansovino regrets that not only Venice but all Italy has changed its character with its clothes, and tries to appear *quando francesi et quando spagnuoli*.

We have already noted the sumptuary laws which, from the year 1229 down to the close of the fifteenth century, aimed at checking the capricious and costly changes of fashion. The administration of these laws was intrusted to the *Quarantia Criminale*, the Supreme Criminal Court, to the *Avogadori del Comune*, to the Police Magistrates (*Signori di Notte*), to the *Procuratori del Comune*, the Commissioners for the Levant, the *Capi dei Sestieri*, and the *Giustizieri Vecchi*. But the very number of these magistracies hampered the efficacy of their action, and in 1466 the Great Council empowered the Senate to take whatever steps seemed necessary to limit the ostentatious display in furniture, in banquets, and in dress. In 1472 the Senate accordingly appointed three commissioners (*Provvisori*) on the subject, and these were replaced in 1499 by the three *Savî sopra le pompe*; the alternating election of *Savî* and *Provveditori* continued down to 1514.[2] The regulations "circa i hornamenti de le donne," promulgated in 1476 and 1489, met with universal approval in words, but in fact they remained inoperative. Decrees

[1] Calmo, *Lettere*, pp. 11, 33.
[2] Tentori, *Saggio*, etc., pp. 236 et seq.

cannot alter fashions; fines had little terror for transgressors, and the prohibited goods which sometimes were *abbruggiate in piazza* at Rialto, merely appeared again in greater sumptuousness. In 1514, as a last resort, a magistracy, known as the three *Provveditori alle Pompe*, was created; in 1562 two other officers were added, with the title of *Sopraprovveditori*. The commissioners met twice a week; fathers were held responsible for their children's conduct, husbands for that of their wives. The offences committed by patricians against the sumptuary laws were published in the Great Council. But there were few who followed the example set by Andrea Gritti when Doge. Though by nature indulgent to all forms of pomp and circumstance, nevertheless, on the day of his coronation, seeing a niece of his own, married to a Pisani, wearing a dress of cloth of gold in contravention of the law, he ordered the young lady to go home and change her attire.[1]

In the long and minute series of sumptuary regulations the idea constantly recurs that *il vestir in ogni uso della persona sia schietissimo senza alcuna sorte di lauorerio*, neither slashed nor with insertions. The men's costume might not display braid, embroidery, appliqué work, tassels, bands, tags, gold or silver rosettes; hose were to be close-fitting, not puffed, without embroidery, fringing, gold or silver laces; hoods and cloaks were to be of plain silk, not lined with plush; medals, tags, gold or silver cords were not to be worn on the hats.[2] The costume of the men did not, in fact, vary much from the severe elegance admired by Monsignor della Casa, but nothing served to hold feminine vanity in check. On October 15, 1504, the Senate set forth the following considerations: "Fra tutte le superflue et inutili spese, che fanno le donne di questa nostra città,

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXIV, 184.
[2] *Parte diuerse et ordeni in materia delle pompe.*

la più dannosa alle facultâ delli gentilhomeni et cittadini nostri è il mudar spesso le foze del vestir che fanno esse donne, come inter cetera hanno facto, che dove prima usavano la veste cum coda, hanno tutte remossa la coda alle dicte veste, et introducto portar quelle tonde senza coda. Et ora da pochi mesi in quà el se ha dà principio per alcune iterum far et usar veste et visture con code lunghe et larghe, trascinando quelle per terra, alla qual foza non è dubio che se non si provede, tutte vorranno seguir driedo, com'è sua usanza, che grandissimo danno ne risulteria . . . imperocchè le veste predicte le quali sono tutte redute alla *tonda* sariano butade via, et saria bisogno far altre veste nuove nelle quali entreria grandissima spesa."[1] Accordingly, it was declared illegal to wear, either indoors or out, dresses *alla tedesca*, wide sleeves, aprons embroidered in gold or silver, coloured skirts trimmed with velvet, fringes, ribbons, or lined with any fur but marten and the less costly kinds.[2] But on consideration that cloth of gold and of silver is the most beautiful and *honorevole* adornment for the person, leave was granted to make sleeves in those stuffs,[3] and on December 18, 1512, the Senate, out of "qualche rispetto alle donne che in tempo d'inverno pativano grandemente per non se poter coprir el collo, salvo che de veli," granted permission to wear collars of cloth lined with fur which were to take the place of the ruff stiffened with needlework and gold leaf and often very costly. New decrees ordered that dresses must be "schieti di un solo color, cioè veludo, raso, damasco, ormesin, et simil altre cose di seda, et bavelle, che siano tessute di un solo color, eccettuati li ormesini ganzanti et li brocadelli; sopra li quali vestimenti non vi possi esser alcuna cosa, ma il vestir in ogni uso della persona sia schietissimo senza alcuna sorte

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 15, c. 37.
[2] Ibid., Reg. 15, c. 77 (October 25, 1505), c. 190 (January 4, 1507).
[3] Ibid., January 4, 1507.

di lavoriero, et le poste da cenzer similmente siano di seda, senza oro, over arzento, e zogie d'alcuna sorte."[1]

The government directed its attention not merely to the simplicity, but also to the modesty of the women's costume; *bavari, camisuole, busti siano talmente serrati d'avanti chel petto resti coperto.*[2] As for the personal linen "le camiscie non possino esser lavorate in altro loco, che al cavezzo, et d'avanti et da mano senza oro over argento; et li fazzuoli da mano, da spalle, da testa, non possino esser lavorati d'oro e d'argento."[3] Hose were not to be embroidered in gold; gold pattens or silver or *recamati et strataiati* were declared illegal; only leather, cloth, or plain silk were permitted. An attempt was made to limit the height, and a decree provided that no shoemaker "audeat facere nec vendere neque tenere zocholos aut alia calciamenta cuiuscumque forme vel conditionis existant, nisi altitudinis medie quarte a parte posteriori."[4] Severe measures were taken against extravagant hairdressing and against the abuse of jewelry, or the mode of wearing the hair known as *a fungo*, which hid the forehead. To enforce the provisions recourse was had to the Patriarch, who, through the confessors and by edicts published in the parish churches, condemned the habit of wearing the hair *offuscantem frontem.*[5] Coifs of cloth of gold or cloth of silver, but without embroidery and limited in price to ten ducats,[6] were legal. More severe were the regulations as regarded pearls; only one row was permitted at the neck, and its maximum value was fixed at two hundred ducats.[7] *Concieri* and *drexadori*, hair nets and strings of pearls for winding among the tresses of the hair were

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 44, c. 57, 58, October 8, 1562.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Arch. di Stato, M. C., March 2, 1430. Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 18, c. 11, May 8, 1512.
[5] Ibid., Cons. X, *Misti*, Reg. 19, c. 178, March 15, 1480.
[6] Ibid., Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 22, c. 147, January 24, 1522, o. s.
[7] Ibid., Reg. 31, c. 114, May 5, 1541.

severely condemned; so, too, shirts or girdles sown with pearls.[1] Finally, in 1562, the Senate ordered that no woman of whatsoever condition might wear pearls ten years after marriage, while young ladies on their becoming engaged were allowed to wear a single row of pearls, which must not exceed the value of four hundred ducats and must have been valued and registered before the magistrate. Contraventions incurred a fine of two hundred ducats, of which a hundred went to the informer, fifty to the office, and fifty to the *Provvisioni dei fuochi*. There was also a fine of fifty ducats (1579) for wearing clothes either embroidered or *pontizate* or *stampate* or braided with ribbons and pearls. Chains, tags, rosettes of gold were illegal; ear-rings were to consist of a simple, plain gold ring; brooches, bracelets, and jewelled rings were forbidden. But so strong was the taste for jewelry that the poorer nobles used to hire it. To put an end to this indecorous custom, Nicola Bernardo, in 1453, proposed that all who had hired jewelry should be called on for a list of such ornaments with the names of the owners, who could then be fined half the amount for which they had lent the jewelry. Both men and women set their wits to avoiding the law, and applied themselves to the invention of new fashions, while the government endeavoured to meet them by repeated but frequently contradictory and usually inefficacious decrees prohibiting, now ribbons sown with pearls, now *altre piccole cordelline chiamate guarnizioni*, now foreign cloth, and now *certe romane e altre sorte di vesti da uomo, tutte o gran parte ricamate, camuffate e stratagliate*.[2] Tailors and dressmakers who turned out illegal costumes rendered themselves liable to pillory, prison, or galleys.[3] But in spite

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 36, c. 53, January 5, 1548.

[2] Ibid., *Provveditori sopra Pompe*, Capitolare I, c. 51, January 18, 1598, o. s.; January 21, 1599, o. s.; January 24, 1602, o. s.

[3] *Parte diuerse*, etc., cit.

of all these measures the Senate was obliged to admit that the law proved impotent to check the refinements of luxury.[1] The women of the noble and of the citizen classes alike, when ordered to surrender their illegal pearls, brought false ones or else paid the fine, *pagavano le pompe*, and continued to break the law. But while the Republic was severe towards private extravagance, on certain occasions it deemed it expedient to permit and even to encourage the most costly display. It required its ambassadors to outshine all other envoys at foreign courts, and it sometimes, for special functions at home, permitted breaches of the sumptuary laws in order to impress upon its guests the extent of its wealth made manifest by the splendour of the robes and jewels of its private citizens. It is common to all aristocracies to begin their career with simple habits and to close in ostentation and display. The early Venetian aristocracy, while still engaged in commerce, was frugal in its tastes. But when commerce was abandoned by the nobility and the true sources of wealth began to dry up, the decline set in, and with it came external display which was intended to hide it. From the day that the Republic gave up trading she was bound to fall a victim to luxury, and her women, who had been wont to lead a modest home life, now, to use a phrase of Montesquieu's, became an *objet de luxe*. When Henry III

[1] Some of the mainland towns, *seguendo le vestigie degli Excellentissimi Signori Venetiani*, took steps against *la vanità de vestimenti et ornamenti superflui et somptuosi de le donne*. For example, in 1507, Treviso legislated against jewels, brooches and rings, gold and silver girdles which exceeded a stated value. Women were allowed to wear *una scufia over altra foza de seda over de oro over d'argento filado, dummodo in tuto non excieda el valor de ducati quatro*. Brocade, cloth of gold or silver, and velvet were prohibited for dresses, which were to be *ne stricade, ne inquartade, ne cum recami, o sia de oro over d'argento, cusì batudo come filado*. The number of women's gowns and the quality was fixed by law, and even the very trimmings were prescribed *non strataiade over straforade over listade de cordelle, franze over perfili, ne cum tremoli*. We get other regulations as to sleeves of dresses and even of shirts which were not to contain more than *un brazo de tela*. Pellissier, *La loi sumptuaire de Trevise*.

visited Venice, the Senate ordered the sumptuary officers to suspend all their rules, and two hundred of the noblest ladies, dressed in white and with ornaments "del capo, del petto et del collo di perle et gioie con l'oro che fu giudicato il valor di 50,000 scudi"[1] were assembled in the Hall of the Great Council to meet the king. In 1576 the Duke and Duchess of Mantua were the guests of the Republic, and in the Palazzo Grimani at San Luca an entertainment was given at which a hundred of the most beautiful Venetians were present. They were all dressed in white, "et tutte addobbate di quantità di oro e di gioie così grande, che nulla più, non ostante la prohibitione delle leggi che concessero loro per quella fiata il poter comparire così ornate."[2] On April 19, 1608, the Senate decreed that for the reception of the Duke and Duchess of Savoy the women should be allowed "il portar qualunque sorte di vestimenti et gioie che loro paresse meglio per ornamento delle loro persone"; and such special permits were sometimes granted for private as well as for public functions.[3]

The Doge, the Dogaressa, and their relations who lived in the Palace were exempt from the sumptuary laws; the Doge's daughters and daughters-in-law were allowed to wear pearls, gold chains, *tondini* of silver, "item alle signore et molier de ambassadori extranei" who were in "residentia o venissero in questa nostra città."[4] So strongly was the love of splendour, of vivid colour, implanted in the Venetian race that not even the Ducal Councillors were permitted to wear mourning inside the Palace walls. And so, between prohibitions and concessions which rendered the laws abortive, the history of Venetian sumptuary legislation seems to justify the old proverb: *parte Veneziana dura una settimana.*

[1] Vecellio, *Habiti*, p. 101.
[2] Sansovino, Lib. X.
[3] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Regina*, c. 23, June 3, 1459.
[4] Ibid., Senato, May 23, 1497.

A Ball — from the "Customs" of Franco

Canal; the courtyard, portico, and chambers were hung with carpets, tapestry, and pictures. Before the Prince's seat was spread a costly strip of cloth of gold, and on a sideboard stood silver to the value of five thousand ducats. Many patrician ladies were invited, and appeared in cloth of gold *listato* and *inquartado et seda*. The Prince, who was handsome and gracious and *facile ad innamorarsi*, danced the whole time, till trumpets, pipes, fifes, cornets, flutes, and clowns in the strangest of costumes, announced that supper was served.[1] Alessandro Sansedoni, of Siena, who enjoyed some literary repute, has left us an account of an entertainment given by Cardinal Grimani, the Patriarch of Aquileia, on August 1, 1532, in honour of Ranuccio Farnese. To the sound of mortars and the blare of pipes and other musical instruments the gondolas, all covered with velvet, fringes, tassels, trimmings of every sort, brought the noble guests. The rooms were hung with stuffs embroidered in stars of gold, and adorned with tapestry and paintings and brilliantly lighted. Twelve gentlemen in sailors' costumes of green satin lined with red silk, and green and red caps and feathers, issued from one of the chambers, each leading a lady, dressed in white, by the hand. In the courtyard, crowded with upwards of three thousand persons, a Turkish gymnast delighted the spectators with curious and amazing performances, — breaking a bronze pestle with his fist, balancing three swords one above another on his forehead, holding in his mouth a beam that six men could hardly lift. A cord was stretched from the top of a campanile, and rope-walkers passed up and down. More than three thousand gondolas thronged the canal of the Giudecca, and were filled with noble lords and ladies, a blaze of colour, come to see the show.[2] The whole

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXIX, 536, 547.

[2] Sansedoni, *Lettere a M.ª Isifile Toscani*, per nozze Sansedoni-Tolomei. Siena, 1868.

fête wound up with dance and supper, and for many days the city did nothing but laud "la dovizia delle confezioni, la ricchezza degli argenti, lo splendore degli apparati, la giocondità dei balli, il corso delle barche, la quantità dei doni, la novità dei giuochi, il variar delle musiche, la fragranza degli odori, l'armonia dei canti, i tuoni delle artiglierie."[1] Another Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, gave an entertainment in honour of Henry III in his palace at Santa Maria Formosa. He issued invitations to a large number of nobles and to thirty ladies, who appeared in splendid costumes sown with gold and gems and with ropes of pearls round their necks. Dancing began, and one of the ladies, removing her cap, presented herself before the king to invite him to join the measure; his Majesty declined on the ground that he was still in mourning for his brother, but introduced one of his suite who took his place; and later on he sent the Abbé Lippomano to present his excuses once more to the lady, and she thereupon approached the royal person to tender homage.[2]

It was no unusual thing for the nobility to leave their splendid halls and to continue their dance in the open streets or on board of barges on the canals. The city, thanks to the absence of horses and vehicles, was always like one vast dwelling-place where the inhabitants could conduct their lives in the open just as though they were at home, and poor and rich were united as it were in the bond of a common existence. For instance, on July 4, 1524, the Palazzo Foscari at San Simeone was thrown open, and the guests, after dancing in the salons, led their lady partners, *in vestura benissimo vestite et adornate di cadene di oro et di zoie*, out on to barges decked with flags, to assist at a regatta rowed by women, after which a banquet was served in the open

[1] Aretino, *Lettere*, II, 321.
[2] De Nolhac and Solerti, *Il viaggio di Enrico III*, cit., p. 138.

street, and the Duke of Urbino was among the guests.[1] In 1541 the Company of the *Sempiterni* gave a show on the Grand Canal; it represented "la macchina del mondo, nel mezzo del quale essendo vacuo et regalmente addobbato d'oro et di seta, furono 200 elettissime gentildonne, le quali ballando al passo di ben cento stromenti musici, erano tirate dolcemente da palaschermi et altri legni per lo corso dell'acqua."[2] The entertainment given by the *Accesi*, in 1562, was on the same lines; after passing up the Grand Canal, the guests wound up the *fête* in the Palazzo Dolfin near the Rialto.[3]

Occasionally these parties would degenerate into a rowdy and even licentious romp. It was considered the host's duty to see that everything was provided on a lavish scale; anything approaching economy was resented as an insult by the guests. Alvise Morosini, a member of the Company of the Hose, learned this to his cost. On January 28, 1508, in honour of his marriage with a lady of the Grimani family, he gave the usual banquet in the house of his father-in-law, but he cut down the expenses and even omitted to invite any ladies; and the other members of his club, the *Eterni*, were so enraged that they turned the house upside down and carried off two silver basins which they compelled Stefano and Domenico Tagliacalze, two famous clowns, to bear in procession through the streets, after which they all went and supped at the hostelry of the Campana at Rialto.[4] Perhaps the young bloods would have pardoned the parsimony of the board, but they could not overlook the absence of ladies. But they went even further than this in the case of Alvise Morosini, for, on the night of January 22, 1516, they met in the house of the Donà at the Servi "e fo fato una festa con done invidate, et non vollero fusse i loro mariti, et le porte serade: et volendo intrar molti zoveni

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXVI, 459.
[2] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 407.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VII, 256.

CHAPTER XIII

PRIVATE ENTERTAINMENTS, BALLS, AND BANQUETS

THE city of Venice offered a splendid setting for great religious and civil ceremonies, her palaces a no less sumptuous framework for private entertainments. A *fête* in one of those magnificent apartments, whose walls were draped in cloth of gold or arras, with the mirrors of Murano reflecting the light of a hundred candles and illuminating the velvets, silks, jewels, gems, and armour, must have been a spectacle of rare beauty. We may recall one or two of these *fêtes*, which, as a rule, cost from four to five hundred ducats.[1] The Company of the *Ortolani* gave an entertainment in 1517, in Casa Pisani at San Paterniano, and it is worth recording that several noble ladies who had prepared dresses of cloth of gold and cloth of silver were obliged by the sumptuary police to don more simple attire.[2] The same club gave another *fête* on January 9, 1521, in the Palazzo Pesaro at San Benedetto, at which sixty noble ladies *le prime e più belle della terra* took part, and Pier Antonio di Sanseverino, Prince of Bisignano, who was dressed in cloth of gold, danced with his cousin the wife of Count Giovanni Cosazza and with a lady of the Priuli family, wife of a Diedo, *dona bellissima, nè balò con altri*. A week later the same *Ortolani*, in honour of the admission of the Prince of Bisignano to their club, gave a *fête* in Casa Venier at Sant' Angelo on the Grand

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 10, c. 127 (January 9, 1488, o. s.).
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVI, 278, 279.

A Ball — from the "Customs" of Franco

On the whole, however, bloodshed was very uncommon; and the ladies of Venice were able to indulge freely in the dance, to which all Venetians were so passionately addicted. The dance was not the formal matter that it is nowadays; it was far freer in its measures, and women sometimes danced with women and men with men.[1] The chief point was to be light and graceful, yet dignified in movement; in a treatise of the fifteenth century we get the following instructions for the deportment of young ladies; "Il movimento suo corporeo vuole essere umile e mansueto, con un portamento della sua persona degnio et signorile; leggiera in sul piede, ed i suoi giesti bene formati; e non sia cogli occhi suoi altiera o vagabonda, mirando or qua or là, come molte fanno."[2] A writer of the Cinquecento has declared, with a fine perception of the fitness of things, that recreation is made for beautiful women and beautiful women for recreation; for the ugly there are needlework and the rosary.[3] Among recreations none is more graceful than the dance, where sinuous movements display the natural beauty and elegance of the person, both in women and in men, who were expected to study every detail of deportment down to the proper way of removing and holding the hat. We have minute descriptions and even drawings of the figures of some of these dances in Francò's and Fabrizio Caroso's[4] volumes. Some of the figures are

[1] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Lib. II. Firenze, 1874.

[2] *Trattato dell'arte dell Ballo* by Guglielmo Ebreo, of Pesaro, p. 35. Bologna, Romagnoli, 1873.

[3] Corso, Rinaldo, *Dialogo del ballo*, p. 1. Venetia, 1555.

[4] *Il ballarino* | di M. Fabritio Caroso | Da Sermoneta, | Diviso in due trattati; | Nel primo de' quali si dimostra la diversità dei nomi, che si danno à gli atti, et movimenti, che intervengono ne i Balli, et con molte Regole si dichiara con quali creanze, et in che modo debbano farsi. | Nel secondo s'insegnano diverse sorti di Balli et Balletti sì all'uso d'Italia, come à quello di Francia, et Spagna | Ornato di molte, Figure | et con l'Intavolatura di Liuto, et il soprano della Musica nella sonata di ciascun Ballo. | Alla Seren.ma Sig.ra Bianca Capello De Medici gran Duchessa di Toscana. Venetia, Ziletti, 1581. The figures are adapted to various kinds of

dedicated to Venetian ladies; for instance, *Alba novella* is inscribed to Bianca Cappello de' Medici, the *Ballo del Fiore* to Laura Moro Contarini, the *Ballo del Piantone* to Graziosa Bembo, the *Pavaniglia* to the Dogaressa Morosina Grimani. The Milanese Cesare Negri, called *Trombone*,[1] describes various figures of dances for three and four persons, and in his treatise he mentions his pupil Orlando Botta of Pesaro, Giovan Stefano Martinello, and the Veronese Gasparo Avanzi, who all taught dancing in Venice.

The dances known as the *gagliarda*, the *cappello*, the *torcia*, were in great vogue, and Torquato Tasso records the *pavana* in one of his sonnets. In the first of these the spectators formed a circle round the dancers, encouraging them with shouts and cries, "affinchè," says Zuccolo da Cologna, "s'ingagliardissero a far bei trotti, salti leggiadri, artificiosi fioretti, velocissimi rivolgimenti et molte rimesse et continenze dando del piede a tempo a tempo in terra."[2] The hat dance and the torch dance were a kind of country dance with which a party usually wound up. Zuccolo thus describes the figure of the *cappello* dance, which he calls "the adulterous dance"; the men sat round in a circle waiting till invited. "L'innamorato è richiesto, et con un dolce riso et amoroso sguardo dalla sua vaga madama invitato et le pone la sua barretta cortegianescamente basciata sopra le bionde trecce di lei, et ella medesimamente basciandola prima con belli inchini sopra il capo del suo leggiadro amante la ripone. Quanto ambidoi, felici, lieti, gioiosi et di contentezza pieni

dances. The dedications, too, are changed. The *Ballarino* appeared in another edition under the title of *Nobiltà di donne* (Venezia, Muschio, 1605), and in place of the names of the Venetian ladies who figure in the edition of 1581 we find others, such as that of the Dogaressa Morosina Grimani.

[1] *Le Gratie d'Amore*, di Cesare Negri milanese, detto il Trombone. Milano, 1604.

[2] Zuccolo, Simeone, da Cologna, *La pazzia del ballo*, p. 20. Padova, 1549.

et colmi si ritrovano: ma più assai senza dubbio la pazzarella et baldanzosa femina rallegrar si suole in quella danza parendole in quel ballo di esser sopra l'huomo, per aver lei in quella dilettevol hora il cappello in capo et per raggirare et dimenare quel sciocco senza barretta per quelle ampie sale a suo diletto."[1] In the torch dance the lady, holding a torch in her hand, moved through the rooms till she came to her favourite cavalier, whom she invited to the dance by holding out her hand; the torch was then given to a third dancer, who had the unlucky rôle of *portando il lume*.[2] The *pavana's* name comes, not as some think from *padovana*, but from the slow step of the dancers who imitate the movement of the peacock (*pavone*) when it spreads its tail. There were other dances chiefly in vogue among the people, the *veneziana*, the *passo e mezzo*, the *moresca*, the *mataccino*, the *bassadanza*, the *zoioso*, the *anello*, the *oselino*, the *vanti di spagna*, the *saltarello*, and others that took their names from the first lines of the songs which accompanied them, as *La bella Franceschina*, *Tu te ne parti cuor mio caro*, *La Rosina*, etc.[3]

In the dances of the upper classes, the steps were divided into *riverenze*, *continenze*, *puntate*, *passi seguiti*, *doppi*, *riprese*, *trabucchetti*, *capriole intrecciate e spezzate in aria*, *fioretti*, *girate*, *saltini a piedi pari rovesciati e tondi*.[4] These caracoles and pirouettes, which at first retained a certain dignity and decorum, gradually gave place to more loose and even indelicate movements, and Zuccolo and Garzoni both inveigh the license of the dance, which they call the *vergogna del Cristianesimo*.[5] The priest, Scardeone, who preached in defence of chastity, laments the days of his youth, when young men and maids, instead of dancing with

[1] Zuccolo, op. cit., p. 28.
[2] Corso, *Dialogo*, p. 6.
[3] Calmo, *Lettere*, pp. 232, 293, 294.
[4] Caroso, *Il Ballarino*, cit.
[5] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 452.

their arms round each other in a close embrace, used to be content with simple and modest measures, where the hands were permitted to touch only the hem of a dress or a cloak.[1] The dances of the people, too, lost their original, quiet dignity, when the women made the steps, bounds, and pirouettes with grace and modesty, and, as Calmo assures us, wore beneath their petticoats *le braghesse d'ormesin per no mostrar le vergonze in tel voltarse in tei scambieti*. But the new age in its pursuit of pleasure called for greater freedom, and men and women gave themselves up to the frenzy of the dance, with shouts and cries and gestures, frequently immodest. The young men, loose in dress and in manners, bounded about *a mò simiotti*, pirouetting like so many tops; the maidens with robes unlaced took bounds *che a malastente i pulesi, che salta cusì forte, poderave star saldi*.[2] Dancing became a strong incentive to license, and yet we find it patronised even by prelates — though in disguise — and by widowed matrons.[3] For example, on September 23, 1518, at a ball in Casa Cornaro, there were present the Cardinals Cybo, Pisani, and Cornaro, and the Bishops of Corfù, Crete, Famagosta and Spalato; numbers of ladies took part in the dance, and masqueraders *con saioni di seda, e fo balato assai*. After supper *le done balono il ballo del capello e tolseno tutti tre li cardinali suso*.[4]

Paruta laid it down that display is a fine thing in itself, but it is not called for on every occasion of life; among the occasions, however, on which it is imperatively necessary to spend lavishly, he places weddings and banquets.[5] And in fact, the banquets of those days were sumptuous in character; the art of cooking and refinement in dressing the table united to tempt

[1] Scardeone, *De Castitate*, c. 307. Venetiis, 1542.
[2] Calmo, loc. cit.
[3] Corso, *Dialogo*, cit., p. 6.
[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVI, 53, 54.
[5] Paruta, *Perfezione della vita politica*, p. 186. Venezia, 1579.

the palate and delight the eye of the guests and sometimes of the public, who were admitted as spectators. The Doge not only invited the patricians to refreshment in his private rooms, at which were served *storti, buzolai pignocadi, confetti pastarelli, et altre confettione*,[1] but on Saint Mark's day, Ascension, and the festivals of San Vito and Santo Stefano sumptuous banquets were offered to the principal magistrates and ambassadors in the public apartments in the Ducal Palace.[2] On the Sunday after Ascension the Doge was bound to give a luncheon to the people of Poveglia, and another on the feast of San Girolamo to the nobles who that day were elected to some of the chief offices of State. The people of Poveglia obtained their privilege in recognition of the valour displayed by their ancestors when fighting against Pepin, and the ceremony of their reception by the Doge was both simple and touching. His Serenity greeted the folk of Poveglia with the words, *sie' i ben vegnudi;* and they replied, *Dio vi dia el buon di Messer lo Dose, semo vegnudi a disnar con vù*, and added, *Volemo la nostra regalia*. The Doge said, *Volentiera, che cosa?* and the people cried, *Vi volemo basar*. Then the Doge kissed each one on the lips, and they were ushered by his majordomo into the banqueting-room.[3]

On great occasions the tables loaded with silver plate, crystal, earthenware, cups, and flagons, offered a splendid spectacle to the public, who sometimes assisted. Beatrice, wife of Lodovico il Moro, speaks in one of her letters of a collation given in her honour in the Ducal Palace in 1493; it was served to the sound of music, and was "composta di diverse cose tutte lavorate di zuccaro dorate, che facevano el numero de 300; cum infiniti piatti de confectione, et cope da bevare in mezo, li quali tuti se destendevano per la salla che fu un

[1] *Notizie d'antiche costumanze dei Dogi*, etc., cit., p. 34.
[2] In 1620 a special banqueting-room was added to the Doge's suite.
[3] *Notizie d'antiche costumanze dei Dogi*, etc., cit., pp. 35, 36.

bellissimo spectaculo." Henry III also was given a banquet in the Hall of the Great Council, which was cleared for the purpose, and on the place where the ducal throne stood, was raised a huge sideboard loaded with gold and silver plate to the value of two hundred thousand crowns; facing this sideboard was the seat for the king, under a canopy of crimson embroidered with golden fleurs-de-lys. The guests numbered about three thousand, and the banquet was served, to the sound of music, by a whole army of carvers, waiters, and cupbearers.[1] On another day a collation was offered to the king in the same hall; the whole dressing of the table — bread, plates, knives, forks, tablecloths, napkins — were made of sugar so well imitated that it startled the king when his napkin broke in his hand.[2] The dish set before the king represented a queen riding on two tigers who bore on their breasts the arms of France and of Poland. On the right of the royal table were two lions with Pallas and Justice; to the left were San Marco and David. The other tables bore statuettes of popes, kings, doges, deities, figures representing the planets, the arts, virtues, animals, fruit, flowers, and trees, all made in sugar from designs by Sansovino, executed by the druggist Niccolò della Cavalliera, whose shop was at the sign of the Pigna.[3] There were one thousand two hundred and sixty plates, and three hundred statuettes presented to the ladies. Two other tables were similarly adorned in the Sala dello Scrutinio.[4]

[1] De Nolhac and Solerti, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] Della Croce, *Historia della pubblica et famosa entrata*, cit., p. 24.

[3] De Nolhac and Solerti, op. cit., p. 148. Malespini, Celio (*Nov.*, Part I, p. 111) describes a banquet given by one of the clubs of the *Calza*, where the "piatti, bacili, boccali, coppe, tazze d'oro e d'argento et altre bellissime vascella diverse piene tutte di confezioni, selvaggiumi, frutta, pesci, uccelli, galere, figure et altre cose . . . composti e fabbricati di zucchero da perfettissimi artefici tanto naturali, che ingannavano l'occhio di ognuno."

[4] Della Croce, loc. cit. In order to show the liberality of the government towards its guests, we quote in Appendix, Doc. C, the expenses for

In the pictures of the great masters, especially of Paolo Veronese, we get vivid representations of such banquets. Christ, with the Saints of Scripture, is seated side by side with ladies and patricians dressed in purple and gold; the great halls have noble arches carried on columns of rare marbles; the architecture is of the richest and most stately description, the company is joyous, the place flooded with light; the greyhounds, so dear to Paolo, run about the chamber.

Music, song, epithalamiums, comedies, melodrama, enlivened the official ducal banquets, of which we find the first record in the coronation oath of Agostino Barbarigo (1485), though the custom is much older; and banquets were given to celebrate public festivals, regattas, bull-fights, shooting-matches on the Lido.[1] In 1514, in Casa Vendramin on the Giudecca, there was a banquet of three hundred guests in honour of the wife of Alviano[2]; and on January 5, 1528, another, *bellissimo di soni et canti*, in the house of the Corner Piscopia, at San Luca, in honour of the Cypriot, Livio Podacataro, who was Archbishop of Nicosia from 1524 to 1552.[3] The banquet given on May 2, 1513, in honour of the marriage of Federico Foscari and a daughter of Giovanni Venier, was worthy of the great family and the splendid palace which they inhabited. The guests numbered four hundred and twenty, and included the ambassadors of the Pope, Spain, and

banquets and collations offered to Renata d'Este, Duchess of Ferrara, during her stay in Venice. The notes are transcribed from the documents of the *Rason Vechie*, and are important as showing the price of food.

[1] The following menu of a banquet given in honour of the shooting-match of July 25, 1573, is curious: "Sturioni, Varuoli grandi, Orae vecchie, Barboni, Ciquali, Sfogi, Pasere, Grancipori, Cape longhe, Botarghe, Risi, Moronelle, Caviaro, Oio, Formagio piasentin, Susini damaschin, Ua passa, Cai de late grandi, Id. piccoli, Zonchiada, Late, Ovi venticinque per torta, Marzapane, Madera, Anesi, Acqua rosa, Specie forte, Id. dolce, Naranze, Malvasia, Vin nero, Vin bianco, Asedo, Pan, Buzolai, Meloni, Ua, Fighi, Noselle, Mandorle, Peri jazuoli, Verdazi, Susini negri, Susini bianchi, Moschato, Stechi."

[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XVIII, 238. [3] Ibid., XLVI, 458.

Hungary, and three sons of the Doge Loredan, uncle of the bride. *Fu bellissimo ordine e bel pasto*, says Sanudo; and after the banquet a certain Galeazzo della Valle improvised a song to the cithern, while members of the *Eterni* Club, dressed as Envoys of the Pope, the Emperor, the Soldan, the Kings of France and Spain, and the Doge presented themselves in suitable terms to another of their company who was habited like a king, *vestito d'argento e de sora una caxacha e la greca d'oro e uno capello in testa*.[1] Marco Foscari, before setting out on his mission to Florence on January 8, 1527, gave "uno banchetto bellissimo alla *cortesana* in argenti"[2] in honour of Cosimo de' Medici, who was afterwards Duke of Tuscany, but was at that date only seven years old and had been brought by his parents to Venice along with his fourteen-year-old cousin, Lorenzino, in order to avoid the perils of war.

Nor did that class of citizens who belonged to the ducal chancery and formed a kind of secondary nobility[3] fall behind the patricians in the luxury of their table. For example, we hear of the excellent supper of partridges, pheasants, fried oysters, marchpane, and bonbons offered by the Secretary Gasparo della Vedova in 1517 to a number of guests, including the members of the Ten themselves; the feast was enlivened by the declamation of an eclogue accompanied by music and song. "Et questo ha fatto," says Sanudo, with his usual shrewd directness, "perchè el desidera esser Canzelier Grando."[4]

Although we do not find in Venice, either in the Ducal Palace or in the homes of the nobility, any class of domestics analogous to those who were intrusted

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XVI, 206.

[2] We must always distinguish between the citizens who belonged to the class of secretaries and the citizens who had acquired privileges for trading and were under the jurisdiction of the Provveditori di Comune.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XLIII, 365.

[4] Ibid., XXIII, 559.

with the preparation of papal banquets at Rome, or the entertainments given by the Cardinals,[1] still there were persons who made it their business to lay and serve banqueting-tables. The Doge's steward, who on certain public occasions walked in the ducal procession with *un imperioso bastone in mano*, is represented in one of Carpaccio's pictures. Stewards in private houses of the rich were intrusted with the delicate task of dressing the table; the dining-room and the table itself were adorned with sweet-smelling plants; fish of all kinds swam in tanks placed among the shrubs; from the branches hung gilded baskets full of fruit, and leverets, rabbits, and birds were tied to the stems by ribbons of silk.[2] Art was displayed in all the decorations of the table: gold and silver candlesticks with coloured candles, beakers of enamelled gold and silver, damascened work, silver fountains, gilded spoons, knives with handles in niello, with figures, arms, and borders, kept company with majolica and porcelain plates, with cups and flagons of sparkling glass, marvellous for transparency and grace of form. The minutest details received attention. The copper wine-coolers were chased and damascened; even the toothpicks were of gold,[3] and as early as the fifteenth century forks had made their appearance on some great tables, — a notable point when we remember that throughout the Cinquecento the fork was extremely rare, and even monarchs used their fingers.[4] The fork of the Dogaressa Selvo, which

[1] *La singolare dottrina* di M. Domenico Romoli sopranominato Panunto, famosa scalco romano. Venetia, 1560.

[2] *Il Trinciante* di M. Vincenzo Cervio, ampliato e ridotto dal cavaliere Reale Fusoritto da Narni, p. 50. Venetia, 1593.

[3] In Veronese's "Marriage of Cana" in the Louvre we see a woman using a gold toothpick.

[4] In the West the earliest mention of a fork is in an inventory of Edward I of England, dated 1297. In 1368 we find a gold fork in an inventory of Louis d'Anjou; but the forks did not become well known till 1379, when we find them recorded among the plate of the royal household; nor did they take their place as a common article till the end of the sixteenth century. Montaigne declares that he made but little use of fork or spoon. Henry III,

The Marriage of Cana, by Tintoretto.
(Venice, Chiesa della Salute)

seemed to the Venetians of the eleventh century to be an impious refinement, was adopted by Venice earlier than any other European State. Jacques le Saige, who was in the city in 1518 and attended a ducal banquet, noted, as a novelty of which he approved, "que cheux seigneurs, quand ils volloient mangier, prenoient la viande à toute (avec) une fourquette d'argent"[1]; while Sabba da Castiglione mentions *forchette alla veneziana*.[2] The table plate of gold and silver

> "come son cugilieri e più pironi
> tazze, boccali, confettiere e bacini,"[3]

looked so sumptuous on the sideboard that the ambassador Helean was justified when he asserted, before the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1510, that the use of gold and silver plate was quite common in Venice, while sovereigns elsewhere ate off earthenware and base metals.[4]

Trestles, benches, seats of all shapes were disposed along the tables. Napkins were folded in the form of mitres, turbans, columns, pyramids, and boats,[5] and were sometimes decorated with a little flag or with the arms of the guests.[6] Perfume was sprinkled everywhere, on tablecloths and napkins, on the artificial silk bouquets

who on his way through Venice had seen forks in use, made haste to adopt them (Havard, *Dict. de l'ameublement*, s. v. *fourchette*), but even Louis XIV thought a fork a superfluous luxury. The Venetian fork appears in Italian guise for the first time in the fourteenth century in an inventory of the Commune of Florence (1361). (See Lumbroso, *Mem. ital. del buon tempo antico*, pp. 81 et seq. Torino, 1889.)

[1] *Cly sensuivent les gistes, repaistres et despens que m. J. L. S. marchant de draps de soye, demeurant à Douay, ay faict de Douay à Hierusalem, Venise*, etc. Cambray, 1520.

[2] *Ricordi*, Venezia, Regazzola, 1578.

[3] Rossi, V., *Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi*, cit., p. 423. Sansovino (*Venetia*), p. 384.

[4] *Orazione di Lod. Heliano*, cit. See Bargilli, *Manoscritti della Bibl. della R. Accad. Milit. di Torino*, p. 24. Torino, 1905.

[5] Garzoni, *Il Teatro de varii e diversi cervelli mondani*, p. 587. Venetia, 1583.

[6] Cervio, *Il Trinciante*, cit., p. 48.

which stood beside each cover. At the beginning and at the close of the meal rose water was poured over the hands from ewers of gold or silver.[1] Seated at table, the banquet would begin amid the murmur of conversation, the clink of glasses and of plate; waiters and valets[2] in the family livery brought in and placed on the sideboard the long and complicated list of dishes. Sometimes, if a cardinal or a prince were at table, he was served by the young members of the Company of the Hose, who held it no dishonour to wait upon the great.[3] The carvers, whose profession had become almost an art, cut the joints on the sideboard and laid the slices out on silver salvers, which were then borne round the room. The stewards were constantly studying new forms and names for dishes, *entrées*, *relèves*, mounds of pastry or sugar, castles, columns, statuettes in marchpane, "insalate grandi lauorate di Cedro, littere di radici, castelli di rape, muraglie di limoni adornate di sommate, Presciutto sfilato, Bottarghe, Arenghe, Tarantello, Alici, Cappari, Oliue, Cauiale, fiori, ed altre cose condite; poi vi erano Pasticci di Aquile negre in piedi, Pasticci di fasani, che pareuano uiui, Pauni bianchi riuestiti adornati con la rota della loro coda, e pieni di fettuccie di seta ed oro di diuersi colori con confetti longhi dorati a mo di pontali d'oro, che pendeuano, da per tutto alli Pauoni, quali stauano in piedi come se fossero uiui, con vn profumo nel becco acceso de fuoco, et vn motto amoroso tra un piede e l'altro."[4]

Sometimes the entertainment would end in an amazing, or even occasionally a grotesque, exhibition. For

[1] See Appendix, B, Doc. 4 (*Inventario Correr*).

[2] *Not. d'ant. cost. dei Dogi* (p. 30) gives the salaries of some of the ducal servants in 1559: the steward, 16 ducats every quarter; the footmen and grooms, 4 ducats a month; the baker, 2 ducats a month; the cook, 1½.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXIX, 547.

[4] Cervio, op. et loc. cit.

example, the entertainment offered to Farnese by Grimani, in 1532, closed with a dinner served to one hundred guests, which lasted four hours, and comprised ninety courses. The jokes of a number of clowns kept the company amused, and all of a sudden four masqueraders appeared on the scene; they were dressed in a bizarre monkish costume of white satin frocks and cloth of silver hoods, and each bore a basket full of the most delicate needlework made by nuns, which was distributed to the ladies. When the pasties were opened, towards the end of the feast, out flew a number of birds, and a scene of confusion ensued as the company sprang to its feet to catch them.[1] At another banquet in Palazzo Trevisan, also on the Giudecca, among other viands were served *pastelli*, or pasties, and "in una man ussivano schilati (small crabs) fuora, in l'altra confeti picoli, in l'altra oxelli, in l'altra uno gallo tuto spenachiato le pene et taiata la cresta qual andò per tavola spandendo gotti et ingistere."[2]

The art of pleasing the palate was carried to a high pitch, and dishes varied with the season. The favourite savouries were truffles, oysters, lettuce and carrots, sausages, ham and pork sausage; among soups we find the *zuppa dorata,* English soup, vinegar soup, kid-broth, imperial and Neapolitan pottage.[3] Favourite dishes were mortadella di Cremona, Milanese sausage made of pigs' brains, cheese from Piacenza, tripe from Treviso, lampreys from Binasco, Ferrarese sturgeon, sausages from Modena, Genoese macaroni, Perugian thrushes, geese from the Romagna, and Lombard quails.[4] Partridges, pheasants, peacocks, and pigeons were standing dishes.[5] The Adriatic yielded fish in abundance, both the finer qualities that went to the tables of the rich, and the coarser kinds that formed the staple food

[1] Sansedoni, *Lettere*, cit.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XL, 790.
[3] Garzoni, *Il Teatro*, pp. 586 et seq.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Sanudo, *Diarî*, LVII, 192.

of the poor.[1] Fruit of all kinds loaded the board, — almonds, plums, cherries, pears, apricots, pumpkins, melons, grapes, peaches, as well as vegetables of all sorts, which the Venetians devoured so greedily that a doctor of that date declared them to be worth thousands of ducats to physicians, thanks to the diseases they induced.[2]

The dressing of dishes was peculiar; not only was sugar used on roasts, game, fish, soup, and in all sauces which were not based on strong spices, but they added scented waters and even gold dust, to strengthen the heart, as they believed.[3] Sometimes both bread and oysters were gilded for decorative purposes.[4] The use of spices and drugs was common. Mingled with the vulgar onion and the strong-smelling garlic, were the flavours of pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, mace, juniper, benzoin, ginger, cubebs, and such like.[5]

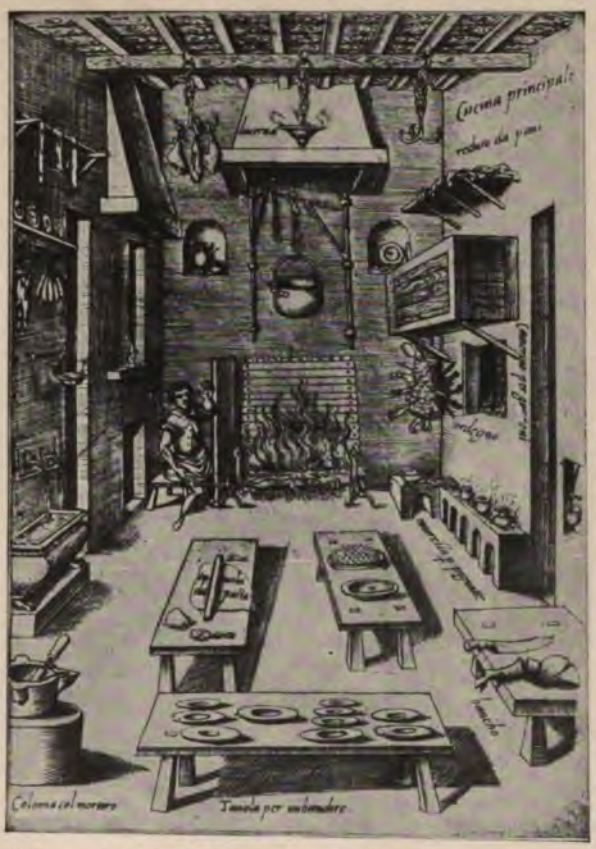
[1] The commoner kinds of fish at Venice were chad, dory, eels, gilt-head grayling, bream, tunny, pike, gudgeon, lobster, gurnet, red runlet, lamprey, sturgeon, cuttlefish, winkles, cockles, hog-fish, shrimps, and soles.

[2] Teza, *Scipione Mercuri*. Extract from the "Atti e Mem. dell'Accad. di Padova," p. 11. Padova, 1902.

[3] Viviani, *Tratt. del custodire la sanità*, p. 85. Venetia, 1526.

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXIX, 547.

[5] Dall'Horto, in his *Historia dei semplici aromati* (Venezia, 1616), enumerates all the drugs that they brought from the East Indies. As a sample of the taste of the day, we may quote from Cristoforo di Messisburgo's *Libro Novo nel qual s'insegna a far d'ogni sorte di vivande* (Venetia, 1563) the following receipt for a "black broth" which the author describes as *divinissimo* (p. 81 and index): "Piglia libra una d'uva secca, overo schiava, cavate l'anime, e libra una di mandorle ambrosiane senza mondarle e una libra di pan tagliato in fette, ciò e una libra di fette di pane biscottato mogliate in Agresto e pesta bene ogni cosa insieme, e distempera con brodo di carne non troppo grasso, e passa ogni cosa per la stamagna, e poni in una cassa stagnata su la bragia, e fa bogliere ogni cosa per spazio d'un quarto d'hora, con oncia una di cannella e un quarto di pevere pesto, e oncie otto di mele chiarificato, poi piglia due cipolle tagliate ben minute, e ponile in una pignata in buono lardo pistazzato. E quando saran cotte le cipolle, le pesterai e macinerai molto bene insieme col lardo dove sono cotte, e poi mettile nella cazza dove son le altre sopradette cose, le farai bogliere un mezo quarto d'hora tutte insieme. Poi haverai la tua carne, o uccelli cotti allessi in pezzi, e li soffrigerai nella patella con buon lardo ben battuto, over distrutto, e li imbandirai nei piatti, poi li porrai sopra detto sapore."



A Kitchen of the XVI century — from the "Art of Cooking," by Bartolomeo Scappi

These highly spiced dishes naturally stimulated thirst, which was quenched by an infinite variety of wines, *salubri*, *stomacali*, *cordiali*, *matricali*, *gagliardi*, *mezzani*, and *deboli*. Wines with a strong bouquet and body, such as *greco*, made from a grape that came originally from Crete, and *malvasia*, made from a grape native to Cyprus, were preferred. Of local wines, the favourite in North Italy was the *vernaccia*, made from raisins and highly alcoholic, the *greco* and *chiarello* of Alba and Saluzzo, the *chiarello* of Acqui, the wines of Lodi, Crema, Como, Brescia, Verona, and Conegliano, which resembled *vernaccia*, and the *brognoli* of Friuli.[1] These wines were frequently doctored with drugs and perfumes, like the famous hippocras.

The most bustling, and in some ways the most important, place in a Venetian house was the kitchen, full of every kind of utensil. We have pictures of all the details of a Venetian kitchen in the engravings which illustrate Bartolomeo Scappi's cookery book, dedicated to a Venetian cook. The place was crowded with caldrons, churns, basins, bowls, pitchers, tubs, porringers, ladles, spits, skewers, large and small, dripping-pans, mortars, grinders, pestles, knives, graters, besoms, and, above all, "good store of wood."[2]

The history of the ducal kitchen raises, as it were, a corner of that golden robe under which the private life of the prince was hidden. There was great abundance, but the quality was simple; tribute in kind supplied, for the most part, the food stuff in the ducal kitchen; fish, especially sturgeon and soles, also wild duck, were furnished by the owners of the fishing-grounds and by the fishermen of San Niccolò, who at Christmas made an offering of two hundred gurnets and twenty wild

[1] Stecchetti (Guerrini), *La tavola e la cucina nei sec. XIV e XV*, p. 24. Firenze, 1884. Gandini, *Tavola, Cucina e Cantina*, p. 47. Modena, 1889.

[2] Messisburgo, *Libro novo*, loc. cit. Scappi, Bartolomeo, *Dell'arte del Cucinare*, dedicated to Mag. M. Matteo Barbieri, famous Venetian cook and steward, p. 9. Venezia, 1610.

duck; wine and eatables were due from certain magistracies, communes, monasteries, and guilds. Chioggia, for example, presented at Christmas a cask, "de quarte 8 de buon vin dolce trebian col caratel condutta a sue spese fin in caneva del Dose." On the same anniversary the Commune of Muggia presented two and a half amphoras of the favourite wine *ribuola*, and two "ambassadors" brought the gift from Istria, on board a boat manned by ten sailors, to whom the Doge gave a sumptuous feast. Some of the guilds paid tribute, not in money, but in kind; the Cheesemongers, for instance, gave a *pezza de formazzo dolce del miglior*, while the office of the *Rason vechie e nuove* contributed at Christmas time twelve pigs, of two hundred pounds' weight each; one pig of the same weight was also due from the monastery of the Santo Spirito, and one of a hundred and twenty pounds from Sant' Antonio. The Patriarch's quota was fifteen capons and fifteen pair of wild duck. Other monasteries made more refined contributions; for example, San Zaccaria and San Lorenzo "erano tenuti dare ogni anno in 17 volte calissoni (cakes), n° 1020 a doi *mersori* (baskets), per volta de 60 calisoni in tutti doi"; a basket containing one hundred gilt-covered cakes was presented to the Doge on the vigil of Santo Stefano by the monastery of San Giorgio, and in addition four gilded drinking-cups with the Doge's arms upon them, two containing Muscatel wine and two *vin de marcha*.[1] Tribute in kind was paid to the Grand Chancellor, to some officials, and to the ducal steward, cook, and baker.[2]

After dwelling thus on the riches and profusion of Venetian tables, we are bound to add that all this display was reserved for State occasions; in ordinary daily life the meals even of the patricians were anything but

[1] *Not. d'ant. cost. dei Dogi*, passim.

[2] For instance, on Maundy Thursday the Giudici del Proprio received "una testa de porco con 4 dedi (finger lengths) di collo con una naranza in bocca." Ibid., p. 34.

sumptuous.[1] Modest, too, were the household habits of the bourgeoisie and of the people in their little dining-rooms[2] or round the kitchen fire.

The display of eatables in the shops corresponded to the profusion of the tables of the rich, and gave an air of perpetual holiday time to the city, while it encouraged trade in all such articles. Spices and drugs were still brought in abundance from the East[3]; the

[1] The will of one of the Falier family (Arch. di Stato, Sezione Notarile) gives us an interesting note of the daily expenses in a nobleman's house:

Zugno 1509.

Al nome de missier ihesu christo. Qua sarano notado tutte le spesse che mi achaderano in dito mese et memorie, el qual mese comenzo per pesse et ovi zeriesse erbe . soldi 7

Adi 2 *zugno sabado.*

per pesse . . . . . soldi 4
per ovi e erbe . . . " 3
per carne per 2 zorni . " 8

Adi 6 *zugno merchore.*

per charne dé manzo . soldi 4
per fasinelle n. 15 fresche per metter sotto al mio letto per chazar i zimexi . . . . . soldi 5
per pesse per disnar et ovi per zena in tutto . . . . soldi 5

Adi 9 *zugno sabado.*

Noto chome o comprado quarte 3½ di tela padoana per far conzar le mie mudande . . . soldi 6

Adi 12 *zugno vezilia de missier Santo Antonio.*

per pesse perchè per missier lo patriarcha fo comandato gran zuni per la guera spissi tra pesse e fruti in tuto . . . . . soldi 5

Adi 5 *luglio zobia.*

per tripe soldi 2 e pesse per zena soldi 1 soma . . . . . soldi 3
per bresole de ponta de schena soldi 3
per figi, zorbolle . . . " 1
per ovi . . . . . " 2
per uno quinterno de carta da scriver lettere per la guera . soldi 3
per barbonzini per frizer in agrest . . . . . soldi 2

Adi 5 *octubrio* 1509.

per sechi 4 de vin comprai a razon de soldi 12 al seccio, chonpsi sechi 4 . . . . . L. 2 soldi 8

Adi 9 *octubrio marti.*

per charo 1 de legnie compra missier Piero de Chortussi de legnie soldi 28 e per condutura soldi 2, soma soldi 30 . . L. 1 soldi 10

Adi 15 *dezembrio sabado.*

per far eschovar 2 chamini, quello dela mia camera et quelo de la chamera de Zanbernardo soldi 4

[2] Arch. di Stato (*Atti diversi, Ms.* B, *Miscell.*) contains a very curious little manuscript book in which an anonymous writer of 1460 has noted all his table expenses day by day. Here is the list for one day: *latuca — burago — caules — pomes — amygdalæ — caseus — caro bovina — caro vitulina — pario pullorum — pisces arbores — pisces ophini.*

[3] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Mar*, c. 151 (October 6, 1601), c. 153 (March 14, 1602).

price of pepper ruled the markets of the world, and one branch of the Mocenigo family, which had amassed riches from trade in this commodity, acquired the nickname of *dal pevare*.

We have noted how this abundance of provisions displayed throughout the whole town roused the wonder of Casola, who, like the good Milanese he was, dwells on the *abundantia delle victualie*, and, begging pardon of his fatherland, *qual credeva fosse la più abbundante*, he declares that Milan cannot compete with Venice even on this point. It is true that Casola thought, and thought wrongly, that the Venetians had no time to devote to the table *per essere tanto intenti a le mercantie*[1]; that notwithstanding *il loco dove se vendono le farine è così singolare cosa che al mondo non v'è una simile*. The bread is so good and so beautiful to look at that it tempts even a full man to stuff himself; fowls are abundant, and so are *altre generationi d'uccelli per mangiare*; it is useless to record the infinite variety of fish; and as for butter and cheese Venice surpasses Milan, which *deve essere el fondaco di ciò*. One would think that *tutti li zardini del mondo* were concentrated at Venice, such were the quantity and variety of fruit and vegetables. The good Milanese can find fault only with the meat, which is sold, as nowadays, *con un grande pezzo de osso*, and with the wine, which, though abundant, even incredibly so, is inferior to the wine of his native Milan. The really weak point, however, about Venice is the drinking water; the wells are numerous; but the only good water is the Brenta water, which is sold from boats that bring it into the city.[2]

[1] Foreigners held the erroneous opinion that the Venetians were modest in clothing and sparing in food. An Englishman who saw Venice in 1594 says, "Venetians being most sparing in diet and apparel." Moryson, Fines, *An Itinerary*, Part I, p. 88. London, 1617.

[2] Casola, op. cit., pp. 8, 9. The Englishman Tom Coryat, who was in Venice in 1608, declares that food and wine were more abundant in Venice than in "any city of Italy." Coryat's *Crudities*, II, 29, 70. London, 1776.

The government supervised this great food-market. The *Magistrato della Giustizia Vecchia e Nuova* had, among its other duties, the regulation of weights and measures and the control of taverns. The *Provveditori alle Biave* and the officials *al formento* were charged to see that the grain supply never ran too low. The officials *delle Beccherie* supervised the slaughter-houses; oil was under the *Ternaria nova;* firewood depended on the Provveditori *sopra le legne e i boschi.* The sanitary officers inspected all food and meat, — especially pork, which lent itself to the frauds of the sausage-makers, — all wine, oil,[1] and drugs, to detect and punish adulteration.[2] Fish might not be sold till it had been passed as sound by the inspectors of the fish-market.[3] Every attention was paid to baking, and German bakers were preferred to the local hands and were *condotti a posta* by the Senate.[4] Bread was to

[1] In 1498 the Sanitary Board severely punished certain persons accused of having sold oil in which syphilitic patients had been immersed as a cure. On examination the oil was found to be full of *immonditie e sporchezi.* Calza, *Delle leggi di pubbl. igiene della Republica.* Atti dell' Ateneo Veneto, Vol. II, Ser. II, p. 325. Venezia, 1865.

[2] Malespini, Celio (*Nov.*, Part II, p. 117) mentions a druggist, at San Marziale, who was sued before the Giustizia Vecchia, the court competent in such cases. "Quei signori fanno contro simili delinquenti grandissimo e severissimo risentimento e punizione."

[3] Calmo (*Lettere*, p. 28) gives the names of many fish and *el muodo e 'l costume de le arte del pescar, a passarer, a treziole, a fossina, a camin, a cana, a vusega, a ree, a zatera, a lisini, a cogolo, a furegar,* and *a spentina.*

[4] Rangone, whom we have already quoted, makes this statement in compendium of his book *De vita protrahenda* (Venezia, 1577). Garzoni, (*Piazza*, p. 828), with his usual readiness to censure, remarks that many bakers are "furfanti e non mancano del debito ancora loro ponendo dell' oglio nel pane ovvero della calcina viva, ovvero della terra minuzzata ovvero facendol mal levato, acciò ritenga meglio il peso, ovvero empiendolo di semolo e di crusca, ovvero con mille altre furfanterie." The baker's trade, says Garzoni (p. 825), includes baking "il pane, le fugazze, le pizze, le torte, le ciambelle, onde vengono i zambellari, le brucciatelle, o bianche, o zuche rate o forti, i biscotelli, i burlenghi, il biscotto, le nevole, i storti, gli occhietti, la festa, le offelle, onde vengono gli Offellari; i sosamelli, i mostazzoli, le fogaccie, i ritortelli, i cialdoni, onde vengono i Cialdonari, uve secche, peri cotti, e tutto quello che sia buono da mangiare essendo cotto nel forno; come la festa, i confertini, dai quali son dimandati, i Confertinari, che si fan di pepe, e mele, nelle forme loro in foggie diverssisime e

be made of fine flour, "mondato dai publici crivellatori, tritato e macinato in ottimi molini . . . e con fermenti sale e comino, accomodato con la gramola e cotto ne i forni publici e buoni."

In order to protect the public the government fixed the maximum price for food stuffs; and in 1493 Sanudo tells us that beef could not be sold at more than two soldi the pound, oil or candles at more than four soldi, a waggon load of wood at more than twenty-eight soldi, and so on. The enforcement of the tariff was committed to the *carrizadori di Comun*, who were charged to do justice *et il dovere a cadauno*.[1]

There were two flourishing fish-markets, — one at Rialto, founded in 1332; the other at the end of the Molo, under the Mint, — hence the name of the bridge, *Ponte della Pescaria*, which leads to the Royal Gardens. The butchers' shops also were at Saint Mark's, though the wholesale slaughterers had their market at Rialto. If we are to believe Sansovino, the weekly sale of flesh included five hundred oxen, two hundred and fifty calves, *e un numero incredibile di capretti e di pollame e d'altri carnaggi che vengono di hora in hora dalla terraferma*.[2] An enormous quantity of green food was brought into the city, not only from the mainland, but

massimamente in Ferrara, in Mantova, in Milano, in Venezia, in Napoli, in Roma." The Guild of Venetian Bakers, founded in 1447, had its hall at the Madonna dell'Orto, in the *calle* that leads to the Campo dei Mori.

[1] Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 49. Cecchetti, in his *Saggio sui prezzi*, gives the cost of some articles of food after the middle of the fifteenth century:

1 pound of beef, 2 soldi.
1 pound of veal, 3 soldi.
1 pair of small chickens, 13 soldi.
1 hen, 12 soldi.
1 capon, 18 soldi.
153 eggs, 3 lire, 2 soldi.
1 woodcock, 1 lira, 9 soldi.
2 turkey cocks, 10 soldi.
2 partridges, 19 soldi.
1 blackcock, 18 soldi.
10 pounds of sturgeon, 18 soldi.
25 pounds of oil, 6 lire.
1 cask of white wine, 11 lire, 10 soldi.
1 waggon of wood, 24 soldi.
8 wax candles, 2 pounds' weight, 1 lira.
1 bushel of Paduan wheat, 3 lire, 15 soldi.
1 tenth of a bushel of salt, 4 lire.
1 basket of apples, 7 lire.

[2] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 316.

from the garden islands surrounding Venice, which grew nothing herself, but was fully supplied with all she required.[1] Sanudo, writing in 1521,[2] says there are *assa botteghe di fruttarie al presente in questa terra;* and the fruiterers' business must have been flourishing ever since the beginning of the fifteenth century, for in 1405 we find the corporation celebrating the election of the Doge in the manner suited to their trade: all the fruiterers in Venice and the gardeners of the island and of Chioggia, preceded by banners, trumpets, and fifes, went in procession to offer to the newly elected prince melons and carnations,[3] and in return they were entertained at a repast.

The government, while it controlled the sale of food in the interests of public health, attempted to restrain excess of gluttony on the part of the populace, and promulgated restrictive laws not always wise and almost always inefficient. The series begins in the fourteenth century.[4] In 1460 the limit of expenditure on banquets was fixed at a ducat and a half per head,[5] and that with a view to putting down the practice of giving costly entertainments *in abbominio di Dio e del mondo*.[6] An effort was also made to check extravagance in the dressing of dinner-tables, the tablecloths and the gold and silver damascened plate.[7] In the sixteenth century decrees were poured out, and simultaneously the efforts to avoid them became more ingenious. Pheasants,

[1] Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 48.

[2] Id., *Diari*, XXXI, 97.

[3] Ibid., loc. cit. The Fruiterers' Guild was founded in 1423, under the protection of San Giosafatte. They had two *scuole*, — one at San Pietro di Castello, the other at Santa Maria Formosa. The *Erbaroli* and *Naranzeri* formed two distinct branches of the Fruiterers' Guild.

[4] See Part I, Vol. II, p. 58 of this work.

[5] Malespini, Celio (*Nov.*, p. 110) speaking of a banquet where *non si passavano venti bocche*, says: "dieci scudi a quei tempi bastavano honoratissimamente per ogni splendida cena."

[6] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 4, c. 139, January 14, 1459, o. s.

[7] Ibid., Reg. 4, c. 139, January 9, 1469; Reg. 12, c. 119, January 14, 1495.

peacocks, guinea fowl, blackcock, and woodcock were all declared illegal; trout and other fresh-water fish, especially from the Lago di Garda,[1] were prohibited, perhaps in order to favour the fishers of the Adriatic coast. Venetian governors of the mainland provinces were bound, under penalty of a fine of two hundred ducats, to observe the laws in force in Venice; they were forbidden to give presents of preserves and candied fruits, and four hundred ducats was the fine for serving both fish and meat at one meal. Finally, in order to *ridurre le cose sommariamente, per più chiara intelligentia de cadauno*, the law of 1562 brought all previous regulations under one head, and declared that at banquets of any kind, whether in honour of weddings or *di compagnie pubbliche e private* "non si possi dar più che una man di rosto e una di lesso nelle quali non vi siano più di tre sorta di carne." The law especially prohibited *le confection grosse, pignocade, pistachi, calisoni, fonzi de Savonia, oldani et confecti senza corpo, spongade, figure, fructe de zucaro*,[2] nor were marchpane and ordinary sweetmeats permitted. Cooks and stewards before taking service in private houses were compelled to declare to the Provveditori sopra le Pompe the names of their employers, and were further called on to make an affidavit of the number served on all great occasions. The penalty for omitting this duty was either a heavy fine or the pillory, or even the galleys *colli ferri alli piedi per huomeni di remo*.[3] The police had a right to enter the banqueting-halls and the kitchens to see that the regulations were enforced.[4] The law of May 8, 1512, provided for the punishment or the reward, as the case might be, of the servants and cooks in private

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 36, c. 135, 136, September 13 and 17, 1549. *Provveditori alle Pompe*, Cap. I, January 21, 1599, o. s.

[2] Sanudo, *Diari*, XL, 752. Quoting a law of the Senate of January 25, 1525.

[3] *Parte diuerse et ordeni*, cit., p. 7.

[4] Mutinelli, *Lessico Veneto*, p. 322.

houses, who were required to conduct the police through the banqueting-hall; and it proceeded to declare that if any servant of the household "o qualsiasi altra persona s'intrometterà fra i nostri ufficiali o li impedirà o li molesterà in qualche modo, facendo uso di epiteti ingiuriosi, o scaglierà pani od aranci sulle loro teste, come certe presuntuose persone hanno fatto, i camerieri dovranno lasciare immediatamente la casa ed avranno il loro salario intiero."

But all this minute and stringent legislation not only failed of its object, but merely tended to heighten the evil.

CHAPTER XIV

THE TYPE OF BEAUTY IN MEN AND WOMEN — SOCIETY — CULTURED WOMEN

HISTORY has preserved for us the deeds, and art the likenesses, of the men who dwelt in this city of splendour and of pleasure. Side by side with the portraits of doges, magistrates, warriors of venerable aspect, we have also portraits of Venetian men and women in the heyday of their youth, painted with such mastery that we can reconstruct the various social divisions of patrician, citizen, and plebeian at their prime. As crossing of blood occurred but rarely, the characteristic features of the male type in patrician and plebeian, moulded upon long generation, which carefully preserved the distinction of social caste, are clearly pronounced. The highest type of the Venetian race is presented to us in certain unnamed portraits of Venetian gentlemen just entering on manhood. They clearly belong to the upper classes. In them the rude strength of their merchant-warrior forefathers is veiled, as it were, by a certain air of refinement, not yet, however, carried so far as to blunt the characteristic outlines of their ancestral vigour and activity, displayed in the strong formation of the skull, in the energetic yet well-balanced outlines of the face, the clean-cut profile, the firm mouth, and the nose hooked like the beak of a bird of prey. The complexion is pale, the eyes grave, acute, penetrating, — the index of a strong will, — the brow frequently wrinkled; the general expression one of reserve, of pride, of self-reliance,

(A)

(B)

TYPES of Venetian Gentlemen — subjects unknown.
A — By Alvise Vivarini. (Venice, Layard Gallery.)
B — By Giovanni Bellini. (Paris, Louvre)

conscious of its power. The valiant fighter, the shrewd statesman, of the earlier days is gradually being moulded into the man of the world, the lover of letters, the patron of the arts; but if we compare these portraits with those of the later generations, it is clear that the race has not yet lost its vigour through the relaxation of manners. Later on, all that is virile in these portraits is transformed into the fatuous, insolent, servile physiognomy characteristic of the Seicento, and then into the graceful, polite, smiling, insincere type of the eighteenth century. One feature of the type, however, remains unchanged, — the long aquiline nose. In the superficial personalities of those two centuries the expression is never more than skin-deep, it never reveals the inner spirit; and as in mind, so in countenance, the later Venetians differ widely from their ancestors, of the Cinquecento, whose portraits are instinct with character, nobility, and intense vitality; and as the years passed over these strong personalities they did not weaken, but rather accentuated, this imprint of vitality, which stands out splendidly in the portraits of the men of middle age or of venerable Senators with long white beards.

Venetian painters, while they show in certain portraits their profound study of facial expression and of those spiritual qualities which are the key to the character of their sitters and have the significance of biographical documents, turn with equal intensity and greater pleasure to the nude, and seek for the display of physical beauty and strength in their youthful models rather than for the subtle perturbations of the soul. It is impossible to accept the assertion that the masters of the Cinquecento did not study with diligence the nude model, though they contented themselves with expressing the mental conception they had acquired from such studies without insisting on the meticulous realism which marks the moderns.

The great artist always expresses only such truth as is susceptible of artistic handling, that is, truth as it appears transformed by his own thought and feeling. The artistic medium is limited, nature is infinite, and so the artist is constrained to select and define his conception, moulding it as far as may be on reality. We have seen that Lotto, perhaps the most ideal of Venetian painters of the Cinquecento, noted in his diaries the sums he paid *per retrar femine nude*. However much expression and form reveal the individuality of the artist, his spirit cannot escape the domination of external nature that surrounds him, and thus it happens that not only portraits, but also ideal figures in sacred and historical pictures, and the male and female nudes of imaginary subjects, will reveal the Venetian physical type even down to details in corporeal structure. Sculptors, on the contrary, did not spend much time on the study of the nude.

Statues for the most part were amply draped, and we find few masters in Venice who give us the human form unclothed. The finest nude statue in Venice is the Adam by Antonio Rizzo; the works of Sansovino and of Vittoria, when undraped, are decorative rather than sculpturesque, symbolical rather than realistic. In Rizzo's figures we feel the living model as studied by the master, and in many paintings of the Venetian school the warm blood seems to vivify the flesh of classic gods or Christian saints, — above all, of Saint Sebastian, the Apollo of Christianity. The imagination of the artist becomes incarnate in forms drawn from the nude, in the harmonious symmetry of youthful bodies and the firm live flesh, solidly built up and skilfully handled, the soft contour of limbs, the play of the muscles springing to life under the broad and genial sweep of the brush. The face tanned by exposure to the sea air is admirable in its play of light and shadow; the curve of the lips is sweet; the jaw

(A)

(B)

TYPES of Women in Art. A — The Virgin Mary, by Titian. (Venice, Academy.) B — The Madonna of Giovanni Bellini. (Venice, Academy)

and neck powerful; the nose straight and pointed; the eyes sparkling yet kindly; the forehead low, and the hair thick and often black and curly.

The rich harmony of colour which characterises the examples of Venetian female beauty is intimately connected with the limpid air and the joyous nature of Venetian life. At the opening of the Renaissance period the type of female beauty is defined in the Madonnas and saints of Carlo Crivelli, Giambellino, Carpaccio, Alvise Vivarini, Catena, and others, — an open oval face, high forehead, small mouth, fine lips, straight nose, infinitely tender eyes, a delicate rosy complexion, — the whole countenance expressive of an assured and quiet contentment, which is best suited to the needs of such a soul. As there always exists an intimate connection between the forms created by art and the life by which that art is surrounded, we may be sure that Venetian painters found in their native city these types which they deemed worthy to represent the Mother of God and the saints of heaven. And this type of beauty in its purity seems to reveal to us the tranquil, gracious, gentle soul of the Venetian woman, bred mid the kindly occupations of the family life, in the modesty and quiet of home duties. And this was actually the case; Venetian women passed a retired and tranquil existence till the period when manners began to demand a more refined development of the senses, and men fell a prey to the seduction of beauty that was no longer spiritual. When the purity and sincerity of Quattrocento art gave way to the passionate cult of beauty for its own sake, which animates the work of Giorgione, Titian, Palma, Bordon, Lotto, Paolo, and Tintoretto, plastic loveliness of face and form aroused an enthusiasm that silenced the voice of envy even among women themselves. A Venetian noble lady, Bianca Cappello, whose own beauty raised her to the height of fortune, but brought her also great mishaps,

when Grand Duchess of Tuscany, called to mind the surpassing loveliness of her golden-haired compatriots the patricians of Venice, and from her villa of Pratolino, in May of 1586, she wrote to the patrician poet, Francesco Bembo, that she desired *adornare il suo stanzino*, and accordingly had sent him two ivory boxes, on which she wishes to be painted by a master hand two portraits, — one of Labia, *quale intendo esser molto vaga et bella, nell'altro una delle più belle gentildonne che sieno a Venetia;* the choice fell on Marina Marcello, *celebrata per la più bella donna che sia in Venetia.*[1]

We have very few portraits of Venetian ladies whose names and story are known to us. One of the exceptions is Lavinia Sarcinelli, the favourite daughter of Titian. There are two portraits at Dresden which are said to represent Lavinia. One is certainly Titian's daughter, but she has nothing in common with the stout lady of the second canvas.[2] Lavinia appears in two other pictures by Titian: one, at Berlin, represents her holding up a dish of fruit;[3] the other is one of the treasures of Lord Cowper's collection in London, and shows us Lavinia with a casket of jewels.[4] Titian also painted the beautiful Irene da Spilimbergo, with her large, soft eyes which the Venetians call *maghi;* but he worked from memory, as we gather from a sonnet by Dolce. Irene's less beautiful sister, Emilia, he painted from the life. We have an engraving on copper by

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, V, 564, 565.

[2] Cavalcaselle e Crowe, *Tiziano*, II, 73.

[3] Bode, in the Catalogue of the Museum at Berlin (ed. 1904), affirms that the picture represents Titian's daughter. Cavalcaselle declares that the Salomè of Madrid is derived from the Lavinia of Berlin, and is a copy made by a pupil or an imitator. But Frizzoni says that "ammira profondamente l'opera rivelante in tutto e per tutto la diretta creazione del pennello impareggiabile nonostante i danni sofferti per esser stata visibilmente spelata ed allumacata." Frizzoni thinks it is a little earlier than the year 1550 (*Arch. stor. dell'arte*, Roma, An. VI, 1893, p. 286).

[4] Cavalcaselle e Crowe, op. cit., II, 272.

Portrait of Caterina Cornaro, by Gentile Bellini. (Budapest, National Gallery)

Giuseppe Canale of a portrait by Titian, representing Elisabetta Quirini, sister of Girolamo, Patriarch of Venice; Bembo was devoted to her for her brother's sake, and Monsignor della Casa wrote sonnets to her virtue and her beauty. Canale's engraving shows us a stout young lady, with large breasts, and with ringlets falling over her high forehead.[1] Of the early beauty of Caterina Cornaro we have only the tradition of the Chronicles, for Gentile Bellini's portrait of her at Budapest[2] shows her well on in years. Gentile painted the queen a second time in his picture of the "Miracle of the Cross," where she appears on the left of the picture at the head of a line of noble ladies; she wears her crown, and is kneeling with her hands folded. The painting dates from the year 1500, when Caterina was in her forty-fifth year, and in fact her form shows a matronly fulness. A portrait by an unknown artist, in the possession of Count Avogadro degli Azzoni of Treviso, shows Caterina with more obvious traces of youthful beauty, though here, too, the queen is forty-five years of age, for the picture is dated 1500.[3] The

[1] Cavalcaselle e Crowe, op. cit., I, 466, 467. Della Casa's sonnet begins "Ben vegg'io, Tiziano, in forme nuove."

[2] Dr. Günther, in his villa at Gardone on the Lago di Garda, has a contemporary copy of this picture.

[3] In July, 1500, in the castle of Asolo, was celebrated. the marriage of Fiammetta Buccari to Rambaldo V degli Azzoni Avogadro. The bride was the daughter of the Cavalier Luca Buccari, and maid-of-honour to Queen Caterina, whom she had followed from Cyprus after the abdication. Caterina gave Fiammetta, on her wedding-day, a picture of the Virgin by Antonello da Messina and a portrait of herself. The name of the painter is unknown, and the work is weak in drawing and feeble in colour; but as an historical document it is of the highest value, and appears to us the most authentic of all the likenesses of the queen. Caterina is represented wearing her crown, her breast is barely covered by a transparent veil, her right hand holds up the folds of her rich dress, while her left makes a movement of greeting. In an angle of the picture we read a Latin inscription mentioning the gifts made by the queen to the bride as follows: "Catharina Cornelia de Lusignano | Hyerusalem Cypri et Armeniae Regina | Quae | Flamettam Buchari Cypriam | Puellam suam Nobilem | Rambaldo Actionio Advocato | Nuptum datam An. Sal. MD. | Picta Deiparae Imagine | Antonelli Messanensis rarisima in tab.ª | Donavit." In the

other portraits of the queen which are to be found in many public and private galleries, must be considered apocryphal; for example, the picture in the Uffizi attributed to Titian, who painted another portrait known as the "Bella Turca," which used to be in the Manfrin collection, though it has disappeared, and the portrait attributed to Veronese in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. Equally fantastic are other portraits of illustrious Venetian ladies; for instance, the so-called Queen Tomasina Morosini by Alessandro Varotari,[1] and more than one portrait of Bianca Cappello. We may accept as genuine portraits of the too charming wife of the Grand Duke Francis I de' Medici three paintings by Alessandro Allori, named Bronzino: one in the Pitti,[2] and one fresco[3] and the oil-painting in the Uffizi. The Uffizi possesses no other genuine portraits of Bianca Cappello; two that pass under her name most probably represent Eleonora da Toledo. Nor is the so-called portrait by herself of Marietta, Tintoretto's beloved daughter, of greater authenticity. The picture is in the Uffizi, and is badly drawn, badly painted, and badly retouched; it represents a common-looking woman standing by a spinet with a book of mottets in her hand.

Of the many Venetian women whose portraits have

nuptial contract, dated July 12, 1500, no notice of either the portrait or the picture occurs, nor are they mentioned in the two wills of the couple dated September 19, 1529, and July 26, 1549, when Fiammetta was already a widow. The picture by Antonello is mentioned in a deed of division (December 8, 1601) between the brothers Nestore and Sigismondo degli Azzoni. This deed, however, refers only to the objects in the Azzoni Palace at Treviso; the portrait may well have been in the villa at Lanzago, where, indeed, it was a few years ago. Both picture and portrait are mentioned in a catalogue of 1701. The tradition of these two pictures given to Fiammetta on her marriage has existed for generations in the Azzoni family.

[1] In the Palazzo Morosini at San Giovanni Laterano in Venice.

[2] Bronzino painted Bianca seventeen times. See Saltini, *Bianca Cappello e Francesco I de' Medici*, p. 342. Firenze, 1898.

[3] The fresco was brought to the Uffizi from the church of Santa Maria at Olmi in 1871.

come down to us we do not know even the names, though some of them display that striking beauty which, according to Francesco Sansovino, was *notabile fra le altre italiane*, though it left Montaigne indifferent and cold.[1] In these pictures we get the young and radiant noble maiden or the courtesan in all the pride of her seductive beauty. But be it the sweetness of the high-born lady or the smiling invitation of her frailer sister, both are depicted in an atmosphere of glowing and limpid light, but without passion and guileless of profound emotion. Flesh, muscle, blood, are all instinct with life, but the eyes follow no spiritual vision, nor do they reveal a struggle of the soul; they never wear that passionate expression of the modern woman. The physical form, so intensely attractive in itself, has no counterpart in a vivifying soul.

The crowded canvases of the Venetian masters give us likenesses of well-known courtesans or of women of the people, gorgeously dressed or in seductive *dishabille;* we see them in Olympus between Jove and Apollo, or on the rocks of Naxos, or at the court of Phœnician sovereigns, or in the groves of mythological story; or else they smile from the altar-pieces where the Madonna appears hardly as the Mother of God, but only as the mother of men, stirred by passions that belong to this present world. The hair is yellow like ripe corn, the eyes blue, the cheeks round and rosy, the lips full and moist, the breast snow-white. We may take it for certain that most of the models who sat to Venetian artists were women of the people, usually full-bodied and large-limbed; the Venetian temperament admired as the ideal of female beauty the slow movement, the abundant flanks, the full breasts of the noble matrons; and as the taste of the upper classes was towards the blond type, the painters chose

[1] Montaigne, *Viaggio in Italia nel 1580 e 1581*, edit. D'Ancona, pp. 131–137.

their models from the blond women of the people who in most respects could hardly be distinguished from the patrician dames. It is rare to meet with a brunette in Venetian painting, though the taste of the people, who admired a straight and pointed nose and teeth like a row of pearls,[1] wavered between the slim blond beauty and the abundant charms of the brunette. The cheeks *missiae de late e de riose*, the high forehead pale as alabaster,[2] fair hair,[3] blue eyes, were all admired, but the black eyes or the brown, with coal-black hair and a bronzed complexion, also found favour as giving promise of sturdy offspring:

> Tera mora boni fruti
> Tera bianca tuti bruti.[4]

Women of this type are still to be met with among the populace of Venice and its islands, especially at Burano. As it is probable that the type of the race is best preserved there, and seeing that popular song, traditions, and proverbs are authorities of great weight, we are bound to conclude that during our period there existed, side by side with the blond, a type of brunette, slim in figure, narrow-waisted, with small soft hands,

> Man pissenina
> Testina fina.[5]

While painting presents to us this healthy and robust type of womanhood, portrayed with admirable truth,

[1] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 237. [2] Ibid., loc. cit.

[3] Sete beleze ghe voria a una dona
Perchè la se podesse ciamar bela:
Larga de spale e streta de sentura,
Curta de passo e 'na bela statura;
E ghe vorave do bei oci in testa,
Nel so parlar che la fosse modesta;
E ghe vorave quattro bionde drezze:
Allor se pol ciamar sete belezze.
Bernoni, *Canti pop. ven.*, punt. I. Venezia, 1872.

[4] Id. *Credenze pop. ven.* Venezia, 1874.

[5] Calmo, *Lettere*, loc. cit. Bernoni, *Credenze*, cit.

the literature of the day, with its feeble verse and involved prose, gives us a type of woman lacking in life and in colour. Polifilo describes his mistress at tedious length, with otiose particulars, animated not by passion, but by mere appetite; his style is pedantic, bristling with Latinisms, and is in strange contrast with the splendid engravings that illustrate his work. A few lines will suffice as a sample of this heavy laboured style which Aretino has parodied in the *Marescalco*, and Camillo Scrofa of Vicenza in the *Cantici di Fidentio*: Polifilo declares that his mistress has "nitidissima et delicatula carne et lactea cute . . . ampii fianchi . . . delicatamente tumidulo pecto . . . pudico alvo cum grato tumento . . . resistente et tremule nate, rotundo et piccolo ventre . . . distese bracce, longe mane, ornate di subtili et tornatili digiti, cum longiuscule surrubicundule, et lucide ungue . . . drito et gallateo collo . . . spatioso et delitioso pecto . . . bianchissima gola . . . La biondissima testa cum explicata et soluta capillatura sopra el gratioso collo effusi li tortuli et renidenti crinuli copiosa appareva vedendose non altramente che subtilissimi fili d'oro, inconstantemente rutilanti."

Female beauty is praised and exalted, but always under fixed formulas which leave the impression vague and undefined, even in the best poets, such as Pietro Bembo, Andrea Navagero, and Celio Magno, in whose verses the Petrarcan psychology is crystallised in empty stereotyped phraseology. Here and there we meet with a transient touch of fancy or of imagination, but as a rule the woman is portrayed by means of violent antitheses and cold conceits, never in language that bears the imprint of genuine sentiment. Bembo himself, the best of the Venetian poets, paints his mistress in terms of frigid refinement.

Crin d'oro crespo, e d'ambra tersa e pura
Ch'a l'aura su la neve ondeggia e cole;
Occhi soavi e più chiari che'l sole
Da far giorno seren la notte oscura.

Bembo's feeling is more apparent in his letters; there we find him shaken by his passionate attachments, among which the longest lived was his love for the beautiful Morosina; he was not yet a priest, having received only the minor orders,[1] when he met her in Rome; and she bore him Lucilio, Torquato, and Elena, — a family not blessed by the Church, it is true, but nevertheless made happy in the bonds of genuine affection. We have several of Bembo's love letters, notably those addressed to Lucrezia Borgia, and those still warmer epistles *ad una donna, il cui nome si tace*, who was, we know, a Venetian lady, both cultured and refined.[2] It is to her that he addresses words of sincere devotion and thanks for having written to him, though ill herself. "Vengo," he says, "alle vostre dolcissime lettere di jeri scrittemi tuttavia con la mano inferma, e pure scrittemi abbondevolmente. O anima mia, che vi debbo io dir qui? Niuno spirito ho io, niun polso, e niuna vena in tutto me, che non vi renda mille grazie di sì chiaro segno datomi dell' amore che mi portate, e certo più cortese ufficio non potevate voi verso me fare. Ma pure non posso non dolermi della fatica e disagio, che in vergare con tutto il male tanta carta è bisogno che abbiate preso. Priegovi non ve ne prendiate più, se prima non siete gagliarda. Che io amo molto meglio una picciola parte della vostra sanità che ogni gran somma di mio piacere. Basterammi un solo saluto da voi."

Francesco Sansovino published Bembo's letters in 1563[3]; the press had already diffused a number of amatory epistles or formularies of love in which there is no trace of genuine feeling and the phrases are

[1] Bembo took priest's orders in 1539, after his election as Cardinal.

[2] Cian, *Lett. d'amore e segretari galanti nel tempo antico*. Per nozze Magno-Romanello. Pisa, 1905. See a review of Pastor's *Geschichte*, Vol. III, in the *Giornale stor. della Lett. It.*, XXIX, 425, 426.

[3] *Lettere amorose di diversi huomini illustri raccolte da M. Fr. Sansovino*. Venezia, 1563. Bembo's letters fill the first volume.

confined to conceits and rhetorical generalities.[1] But it was Bembo's *Asolani* that came to be considered as the real lover's code. The writer pictures the gardens of Queen Caterina's castle at Asolo, when the wedding of one of her maids-of-honour was going on. Three young Venetian gentlemen discuss with three young and lovely maidens, Berenice, Lisa, and Sabinetta, "quale amore sia buono e quale reo." One of the youths maintains that love is the root of all evil, but a second protests, and, while admitting the affinity between *donna* and *danno*, *amore* and *amaro*, asserts that love is the fountain of all joy. The third youth, after a dissertation on the senses and the platonic ideal, concludes that true love is desire of the beautiful, — not of earthly and mortal beauty, however, but of that divine and immortal beauty which will be found only in the contemplation of the Deity. As we see, the whole theme is purely theoretical. Giuseppe Betussi of Bassano (b. 1520 cir., d. 1575 cir.) soon after wrote his *Raverta*, on the same theme. Under the formularies of dialectic the Venetian poetess Franceschina Baffo discusses the essence and the definition of love with Lodovico Domenichi and Ottaviano Raverta.[2] From pages such as these there breathes an air of frigid, arid psychology though Bembo here and there shows the lofty quality of his mind, while Betussi is not lacking in a certain vivacity of style. But for the most part the volumes of elegant verse which won so wide a circulation among the Venetian upper classes in the Cinquecento, thanks to the easy and ever open road of flattery, cannot inspire any sentiments but those of weariness and disgust. The allegorical form of the classical authors was imitated by the servile and

[1] The oldest of these is the "*Opera amorosa che insegna a componer lettere e a risponder a persone d'amor ferite, over in amor viventi, in toscha lingua composta, con piacer non poco et diletto di tutti gli amanti, la quale si chiama il Rifugio di Amanti.* Venezia, 1533.

[2] Betussi, *Il Raverta*, with the life of the author by G. B. Verci. Milano, Bibl. rara Daelli, 1864.

affected sycophants of the day, and far-fetched allegories drawn from playing cards or any other trivial object served as a thread on which to hang fulsome flattery of their patrons. Every noble lady was at least the equal of the angels; and in order to enhance the value of their verses and to attract attention, the authors devised the most extravagant metaphors, the most sonorous phrases, the most ludicrous play upon words; as, for example, Giovambattista Dragoncino da Fano, who, in his volume in praise of noble Venetian dames, celebrated for the *pensier casti e le menti pudiche*, did not hesitate to write of a Badoar:

> Laura, laureata Badoaro
> Di salde lode e non di verde lauro,

and of a Gradenigo:

> Pisana Gradenica graduata
> Per la scala che ascende al terzo cielo.[1]

Baroque of the Seicento had many precursors. Girolamo Parabosco, in his *Tempio della Fama*, dedicated to the *clarissima et valorosissima* Madonna Andriana Cornaro, describes Fame in her temple and gardens pointing out to the poet the most beautiful among the Venetian ladies, especially the *honesta e saggia* Cecilia Badoaro, who

> Ovunque ella premea co' dolce et chiara
> Voce, nasceva un bel leggiadro fiore
> Che cantando dicea qui regna amore.[2]

Niccolò Franco, the worthy rival of Aretino, composed, in 1526, a series of octaves full of flowery passages. He called the collection the *Tempio di amore*, and in it he praises various ladies; for example, the Correr Memmo:

[1] Dragoncino, *Stanze in lode delle nobil donne vinitiane del secolo moderno*, 1547.

[2] Parabosco, *Tempio della Fama in lode di alcune gentildonne veneziane*. Vinegia, 1548.

Neve d'està, d'inverno le vïole
Gennaro in maggio, ed in gennaro aprile
Ritrova ancor ne le bellezze sole
De la bella Correra alma gentile,
Ond'ei medesmo non sa quel che vole
Tante ha varie bellezze in vario stile,
Ed or si appiglia in questa ed or in quela
Ne scerner può qual sia più vaga e bela.[1]

Another scribbler of loose verses, Troilo Pomeran da Cittadella, describes a group of noble ladies to each of whom he gives one of the emblems of the taroch cards[2]; for instance, Andriana Cornaro carries the world, the Barbarigo has Justice, Isabella Sanudo the Guardian Angel, Bianca Contarini Fire. The Mocenigo holds up the Traitor on the gibbet, and Laura Bollani the Devil, in order to show

Che nostra salute
È fuggir vitio ed abbracciar virtute.

Death is borne by Paula Cappello, Time by Maria Lion, Fortune by Paula Moro, Fortitude by the Querini, Love by Orsetta Foscolo, the Triumphal Car by Maria Loredan, Temperance by Bianca Zeno, the Pope by the Alberti, the Emperor by the Pisani, Pope Joan by the Zane, the Empress by Marietta Pasqualigo, the Bagatelle by Paula Valier. The point of each of these emblems is explained in childishly artificial verse. In allegory such as this we trace the germs of the eighteenth-century satire, where we frequently find the names of men and women coupled with the names and emblems of vices or defects.

Lastly, we have an anonymous author who styles himself *Ameto Pastore*, who, piling up all the extravagances of rhetoric, describes the charms of thirteen Venetian beauties of his day; to Isabella Priuli he exclaims:

[1] Franco, *Tempio d'Amore*. Vinegia, Marcolini, 1526.
[2] Pomeran, Troilo, *I triomphi composti sopra li tarocchi in laude delle famose gentildonne di Vinegia*. Vinegia, Nicolini, 1534.

Costei con le bellezze tali e tante
Sì forte al ciel di fama il grido spiega,
Che alla luna ed al sol, purch'ella voglia
Par che lume e splendor accresca e toglia.[1]

But if the ladies of the upper classes are presented to us vague, colourless, without clearly marked features, in the vapid verses of these poets of adulation and servility, we get, on the other hand, in popular dialectic poetry strong, vivid, healthy sketches of the women of the people in the verses of Maffeo Venier, Caravia, Calmo, and the countless anonymous popular songs. We see them in their white slippers and loose bodices, as in the *Canzoneta delle Masserete*, where the maid of all work

Le se guarda ne 'l spechieto
Con e 'l fuso e 'l peteneto.

But the course of love does not always run smooth; and it sometimes feels the pangs of jealousy, and then the poet bursts out in extravagant, rough, or trivial verses, very probably accompanied by the tinkle of the guitar:

Mi son tanto innamorao
In dona Nina mia vesina
Che me dà gran disciplina
Che me vedo desperao
Gnao bao, bao gnao
Mi son tanto innamorao.[2]

The *Strazzosa* of Veniero, on the other hand, though poor and meanly clad, is of such beauty and gentleness as to win the heart of the patrician poet, who abandons all his other loves, to whom he addresses the following:

[1] *Stanze in lode di alcune dame veneziane di autore anonimo del secolo XVI.* Venezia, 1835. We might cite other encomiums of Venetian beauty. Not last those of Paolo Barbo, whose inedited poems in praise of Elisabetta Diedo, Andriana and Chiara da Pesaro, Elena Pisani, Elisabetta and Girolama Venier, Marietta da Lezze, Cecilia and Laura Foscari, Cataruzza Corner, Elena Donà, Beatrice Malipiero, Elisabetta and Marina Grimani, Chiara Giustinian, are to be found in the Marciana, Cl. II, Ital. Cod. LXVI. See Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 100.

[2] *Frottole nuove de Lazaro da Crusola* in Gamba's *Serie degli scritt. in dial. Ven.*, cit.

Cerchè Done d'aver sfoghi de pianti
Réfoli de sospiri
E sempre avanti eserciti d'amanti;
Formè niovi martiri,
Nutrive cento diavoli in t'i ochi
Che tenta i cuor contriti;
Cerchè che mile afliti
Ve se vegna a butar morti in zenochi.

Alessandro Caravia, with a vulgar but vivid sense of reality, depicts the loves of Naspo; and Andrea Calmo in fresher verse, that breathes the sharp salt air of the lagoons, describes his light adventures:

Andando un zorno a Lio col mio famegio
Per veder a pescar su la Marina
Trovitti desmontando una putina,
Sorella del forner de Canaregio.

The roysterer invites the girl into his boat, and she does not wait to be asked twice, and there, under the spell of sea and sky, he cries in a spasm of desire:

Tenca da late no me fa morir
Perchè con poca cosa ti m'aidi.

The women of the people are thus depicted with *brio* and colour by their poets, but the noble ladies leave no clear impression either in the verse or in the prose of their admirers. Not a single female figure stands out from the crowd of patrician beauties, celebrated in endless volumes of prose. The type of such compositions is the *Ritratti* of Trissino, not absolutely lacking in merit, however, and which found an imitator in Firenzuola.[1] The Vicentine author composes a perfect type of woman by selecting from the qualities of five beauties of his day, as Zeuxis from the maids of Croton. Trissino's prototype is Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, and the five selected to compose the physical and spiritual graces of the prototype are Bianca Trissino of Vicenza; Ericina, also of Vicenza; the Contessa di Caiazzo, a Milanese; the wife of Batto Spinola of Genoa, and Clemenza de'

[1] Morsolin, *I Ritratti del Trissino* and *I Discorsi del Firenzuola* ("Atti del Istit. Ven.," Ser. VII, Lib. I., III. Venezia, 1892). The *Ritratti* were written in 1513, and the *Discorsi* in 1530.

Pazzi of Florence. It was with a like intent that Federico Luigini, a noble of Udine, wrote his *Libro della bella donna* (1554); he recounts to a certain monsignore, an admirer of the fair sex, how in a dream he heard a number of gentlemen discussing the particular gifts which go to make up the perfect woman. Luigini, like Trissino, adopts the synthetic method and creates his imaginary ideal, from the characteristic qualities of ladies of his time. But this ideal woman remains vague, indefinite, unconvincing, in spite of the author's excessive insistence on her physical attractions, "poppe picciole, tonde, sode, e crudette e tutte simili a due rotondi e dolci pomi; braccia delicate, grassette, e dolci al tatto; rilevati i fianchi; diritte e rotonde le gambe, piedi brievi, asciutti e ritondetti."[1] In the same class of literature, only even more wearisome, are those long catalogues of Venetian ladies, each name accompanied by the usual phrases of flattery. In the *Nobiltà delle donne* of Lodovico Domenichi we get in endless wearying procession Cecilia Cornaro, *alla quale tanto si può dar luogo principale fra le belle, come al sole tra le stelle minori;* Elena Barozzi Zantani, *la quale in bellezza pareggia la greca et nell'honestà la Romana Lucrezia;* Lugrezia Cappello, *di maniere angeliche e celesti;* Paola Donato, *che più tosto si dee chiamar col nome di Dea;* Paolina Pisani, *la quale è tale che più facile sarebbe ascondersi l'aurora nell'apparire del giorno, che celarsi la nobiltà, la bellezza, il decoro nel sembiante del suo mostrarsi;* Marietta Pisani, *la quale non può ringraziare la natura a bastanza, per quella larga parte, che le ha concesso di bellezza.*[2] Girolamo Ruscelli[3] and

[1] Luigini, *Il libro della bella donna*, edit. E. Camerini. Milano, Bibl. rara Daelli, 1863.

[2] Domenichi, *La Nobiltà delle donne.* Vinetia, 1551. There are five long dialogues, in the last of which the author recalls the most gracious ladies of Italy.

[3] Ruscelli, *Lettura sopra un sonetto dell'ill. Marchese della Terza alla divina signora Marchesa del Vasto*, etc., p. 68. Venetia, 1552.

Girolamo Parabosco add many other names to Domenichi's list. The latter thus addresses the ladies of Venice: "Veramente e' si vede che la natura s'è dilettata di formare altrove donne, ma in questa città sono angeli."[1] They were uncommonly human angels, with all the faults and defects of human nature. Here, for example, is a curious anecdote which throws not a little light on female society of that period. On the morning of March 4, 1522, the doors of the houses of Marcantonio Venier, Andrea Diedo, Niccolò Tron, and Antonio Cappello were found to have been defiled with pitch, while a pair of horns were hung on Venier's portal. He appealed to the Council of Ten, and cited the case of the Doge Antonio Venier, who had allowed his son to languish to death in prison for having perpetrated a similar insult on a Venetian gentleman. In the course of an inquiry it came to light that a certain Marietta Caravello, wife of a patrician, Moro, had chosen this vulgar way of revenging herself on the wives of the victims for having refused to accompany her to a party in the house of Ser Marco Grimani. Marietta was banished from Venice for ten years.[2] But, as a rule, the life of noble ladies in Venice passed quietly enough; not, of course, free from intrigues, revenge, and sins, but not so corrupt as has been maintained; it is sufficient to note that Henry III, an attractive youth of twenty-two years, very graceful in his person, did not succeed in carrying on an affair with any one of the many and beautiful ladies whom he met at the entertainments in his honour, though we have abundant record that his sojourn in Venice was entirely devoted to the pleasures of the senses.[3] The gaiety and amusements of the place and the time did not prevent a large number of noble ladies from passing their lives in

[1] Parabosco, *I Diporti*, pp. 308, 313.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXIII, 11, 56, 65, 142, 558.
[3] De Nolhac and Solerti, op. cit., p. 150.

unimpeachable virtue. But it is true that the young maidens brought up rigorously in the seclusion of their fathers' houses must have spent long hours in dreaming of the gay world, and when, on their marriage, they acquired their liberty at last, it was only natural that they should dedicate their whole attention to the graces of movement, of gesture, of dress, rather than to the development of their intellects. When their palaces were not thrown open for sumptuous balls and banquets, these great ladies would gather round them, of an evening, all that was refined and elegant in Venetian society. Games of all kinds were popular. The elder and more serious played chess and *tarocchi*.[1] Chess, especially, was in high repute. Vida wrote a poem[2] on it, and Sperone Speroni declared it to be an exercise worthy of fine wits and noble birth. In noble houses were to be found chess-boards of artistic workmanship, in gold, silver, and precious stones, the pieces being in crystal. One of these boards was of such rare beauty that on January 7, 1527, it was carried into the Senate Chamber to be shown to the Doge and the Cabinet, who wished to buy it as a present to the Sultan. It belonged to the patrician Giacomo Loredan of Santa Maria Formosa, and cost five thousand ducats. Marin Sanudo describes it thus: "uno scacchier grande bellissimo in tondo et alto lavorato d'arzento et d'oro con calzedonie, diaspri ed altre zoie, et li scacchi di cristallo finisimo."[3] The better kind of tarroch cards, with "hearts," "diamonds," "clubs," and "spades," were printed, by the *permesso del Senato*, as early as 1491; ordinary cards — a new invention, as Garzoni calls them — were figured in "money," "cups," "swords," and

[1] Speroni, *Trattatello del Gioco*, in his *Opere*, V, 442. Venezia, 1740. See the *Invettiva* of Flavio Alberto Lollio against the game of *Tarocco*. Venezia, Giolito, 1550.

[2] Luca Paciolo wrote a treatise *De ludo scachorum* about 1518, and in that year sought a copyright; but it never saw the light.

[3] Sanudo, *Diari*, XLIII, 599.

"clubs," and were in use among the lower classes, whose chief games were *a primiera, a gilè col bresciano, a trionfetti, alla bassetta, a cricca, al trenta e quaranta, al trentun per forza o per amore.*

The young people were more given to round games, which retained something primitive and childish about them, in contrast with the growing development of society. Calmo has left us a long list of these games, confined for the most part to the populace but admitted also in polite society. Of many we cannot explain the method, but of others both the name and the game itself survive.[1] For example, *tira mola, maria orba*, or Blindman's buff (*mosca cieca*), *zira bela comandèla, rescosole*, or hide and seek, *compagno mio che ti è da drio*, where the player blindfolded has to guess who is touching him, *parlare in rechia*, where the players have to guess from signs what word or phrase was whispered in the ear of one of them, *semola*, or bran tub, *zurlo*, a kind of roulette, *a far la bolpe in cenere*, where some animal was outlined in ashes and one of the players, looking the other way, had to guess what part of the animal was being touched, and such like childish games, that provoked laughter *da schiopar el cuor*, — to split the sides, as Calmo says.[2]

Other more ingenious games were not wanting. Sometimes lots would be cast among the girls, and those on whom the lot fell were expected to recite a tale which ended in a riddle to be guessed by the company, occasionally giving scope for some licentious jest; or a theme would be proposed, and under the guise of allegory and riddle the one would find out what was in the other's mind. Games of chance and cabalistic games were played by throwing dice; the numbers that turned up referred to the page of one of

[1] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 346.

[2] Boerio, *Dizionario*, s. v. *Zógar*. Rossi, V., notes to Calmo, p. 347. Solerti (*Trattenimenti di Società* in the *Gaz. Lett.* Torino, December 8, 1888).

the numerous cabalistic books,[1] where the answer would be found as to the future of the interrogator: or else by scraps of folded paper so arranged that one contained a question, the other the answer.[2] Thus the oracles of antiquity, robbed of all their solemnity, were transformed into a pastime for the rich and acquired a special literature of their own. Some, like Marcolini's *Le Sorti*, thanks to its literary polish, acquired favour with the upper classes. Others, like the *Bugiardello*,[3] rude in substance and in appearance, were suited to the gatherings of the people and of the bourgeoisie.[4] One of the earliest examples known to us is a codex at the Museo Civico of Venice,[5] dated about the middle of the Quattrocento. The questions and answers are given in quaint metrical form: for instance,

> Chesta dona de ti se gaberà
> Altro da lie mai non venerà:

or

> Chesta dona vien molto amada
> Da so mario molto apresiada.

Of this same character and form are the proverbs, ballads, conundrums, riddles, and mottoes of the time. Bembo's *Motti*,[6] written in his young days, contain worldly and sometimes even loose advice: here are a few specimens:

[1] For example, Parabosco's *Oracolo* (MS. Cicogna, Mus. Civ. B. [illegible]); Fanti's *Trionfo della Fortuna* (Vinegia, [illegible]); Marcolini's *Le Sorti* (Venezia, 1540); Ortensio Lando's *Oracoli dei moderni ingegni* (Venetia, 1550); *Le risposte circa le cose future* (Venetia, Rampazzetto, [illegible]); *Il Romeo e il Gonzaga II*, by Torquato Tasso, etc. See Rossi, *Lettere del Calmo*, pp. 446, 463, 492.

[2] Cian, "*Motti*," *ined.*, *e sconosc.* of Pietro Bembo. Venezia, 1888.

[3] *Bugiardello opera piacevole da dar spasso, nella quale si comprende varie infinite galanterie, ma sono tutte bulle, modo di ritrovar il sonetto. Batterai gli dadi e il punto che batterai lo troverai nelli infrascritti sonetti.* In Venet. per Mattio Pagan, in Frezzaria al segno della Fede.

[4] Cian, *Giochi di sorte versificati* (in the Miscellanea [illegible]). Rossi-Teiss, pp. 85, 87. Bergamo, 1897.

[5] Id., *Motti del Bembo*, pp. 39 *et seq.*

[6] Ibid., p. 52.

Ben ha da viver lieto e consolato
Chi puote dire amando io sono amato. —
Non ti doler se gran beltà non hai:
Chi piace ad uno amante è bella assai. —.
Ella il diria, ma per vergogna il tace,
Che il dormir sola troppo le dispiace. —

Still other amusements were suggested by the pursuits of the flower-sellers and the jewellers, and gave an opening to pretty compliments; they are described by the Bolognese Innocenzo Ringhieri[1] and by the Sienese Scipione Bargagli (b. 1540, d. 1612). Bargagli's *Trattenimenti dove da vaghe donne e da giovani, rappresentati sono honesti e dilettevoli giochi*, was printed in Venice by the Giunti in 1587, and we may possibly conclude from this that many of Bargagli's games had already found favour in Venetian houses. Among them was the game known as the *Ortolani;* men and women dressed as gardeners discussed the qualities of the mind under the terms of horticulture; the "lover's quarrel"; the debate on such topics as whether the lover of a noble dame should dedicate himself to arms or to letters, whether one should make love openly or secretly. Then there was the game of the *Bagno*, in which each of the ladies took the name of some mineral spring, and pledged herself to heal the love-sickness of the men who came to her for a cure; also the *Caccia* where men and women named themselves after wild beasts and were hunted round the rooms, and at the close all joined hands and, dancing in a circle, sang:

Se 'n mirar di sua donna il chiaro viso
I vaghi occhi, e 'l bel petto
Ch'ardendo l'han conquiso,
Sente altri quel diletto
Ch'esser gli sembra quasi in paradiso.

Songs and stories formed a part of almost every entertainment, and music and verses and loose tales

[1] *Cento giuochi liberali et d'ingegno novellamente da M. Innocentio Ringhieri Gentilhuomo Bolognese ritrouati e in dieci Libri descritti.* Bologna, 1551.

accompanied the free speech and action, the merry dialogue, of the Venetian *beau monde*. Their favourite reading was the Madrigals of Luigi Cassola of Piacenza, the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, which was frequently reprinted in Venice, the *Nobiltà delle donne* by Cornelio Agrippa of Nettesheim. Spanish literature, too, began now to make its appearance in polite society, and several Spanish books, either in the original or in translations, were issued by Da Sabbio and by the Gioliti, who had the assistance of Domenico di Gatzelù, secretary to the ambassador Don Lopez di Soria and of the Spanish writer Alfonso Ulloa, who had taken up his abode in Venice.[1] Love stories were highly popular, and the most virtuous ladies did not blush to read and to listen to the suggestive tales of Cinzio Giraldi, Brevio, Bargagli, Malespini, Straparola, Parabosco. Aretino declares that "i suoni, i canti, le lettere, che fanno le femmine sono le chiavi che aprono le porte della pudicitia loro."[2] The conversation of the ladies and gentlemen who used to meet in the house of Lucrezia Sforza, widow of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, furnished Giovan Francesco Straparola of Caravaggio with the subjects for his *Tredici piacevolessimi notti*, a collection of enigmas, apologues, fables, and romances which frequently pass the bounds of modesty in the effort to be entertaining. Side by side with the cultivation of a highly artificial literature we find absolute cynicism in talking of all that relates to morals, and obscenity became a habit in the conversation of even the most upright men.[3] We find Castiglione urging women not to be so coy as to avoid company and conversation merely because it was somewhat loose, and the Ferrarese Celio Calcagnini scribbled obscene epigrams over a statue in the gardens of Bembo's villa, while Bembo himself wrote his

[1] Bongi, *Ann. del Giolito*, cit., Introd., p. xlvii.
[2] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 105.
[3] Villari, *Machiavelli*, I, 233, 394.

Priapus. In fact, art in many of its aspects implied immorality, and yet the Church shut its eyes to these grosser manifestations in order the better to lull to sleep the human intelligence which had begun to doubt and to scrutinise the sealed abysms of dogma; it preferred the indecent jest of Aretino to the grave argument of Pomponazzo, charged with all the audacity of independent thought. The serenity and comfort of life kept the questionings of the brain at a distance, and in polite society free discussion of serious problems was never heard. This general decay of morals was not due solely to the revival of classical learning; a vulgar sensuality had dominated Italy long before; but we cannot deny that the renaissance of antique studies introduced a false note into the habits of life. The new learning tended to ennoble the pleasures of the senses; poetry distilled its subtle filter of sensuality; the stage ridiculed, despised, and vilified the family. Side by side with a rigid and unbending etiquette was to be met a tone of mind which even in our days, by no means exaggeratedly scrupulous, would seem immodest. Burckhardt has acutely observed that the prevailing note of female society was not the modern timidity which respects certain conventions and shrinks from touching certain mysteries, however universal, but the resolute pursuit of beauty and of pleasure. Thus the ethical point of view of the Middle Ages was dissolved in the artificial atmosphere of the new age. In many of the volumes dear to cultivated society, sophistical and licentious ideas are mingled with the ancient codes of chivalry. A man, for instance, was held a fool if he had not declared his love within six months; on the other hand, a lady ought not and could not refuse the service of her knight. Love is likened to the bee who makes honey and fills the world with sweets, but the man who boasts his success is accounted base, and he who haunts at night the street where his lady dwells in

[illegible] the world believe he has her favour de[illegible] alive. It is argued that men are far [illegible] than any woman; that woman has all three [illegible] and all four cardinal virtues, and in moral [illegible] qualities is far above man.[2] Women [illegible] this view, which was maintained by a [illegible] in the works of a hundred writers [illegible] Moderata Fonte and Lucrezia Marinella [illegible] that their worth is so vastly superior [illegible] comparison is [illegible].[3]

[illegible] however, so loudly proclaimed in [illegible] confirmed by fact. Courted by lovers, [illegible] painted by the great masters, the Vene[illegible] before us in all the pomp and splendour [illegible] appear; but rarely does a single figure [illegible] the throng to impress upon us the qual[illegible] The patrician lady whose life is [illegible] not live in Venice and is not a [illegible] Bianca Cappello, by her flight with [illegible] roused at first a storm of resentment [illegible] of the Venetian nobility, but when from [illegible] became affianced spouse of the Grand [illegible] the Republic forgot its virtuous [illegible] ambassadors to pay their respects [illegible] Grand Duchess, who was crowned by An[illegible] *vera e particolar figlia* of the [illegible] the benediction of Giovanni Grimani, [illegible] of Aquileia.[4] Reasons of state proved too [illegible] the sense of decency. The disgrace of these [illegible] honours may, however, be countervailed [illegible] respect with which another *vera e*

[illegible] *Lucrezia Marinella*. Venezia.

[illegible] *La bella e dotta difesa delle donne, in verso e prosa*, p. 84. [illegible] *Dipinti*, cit. Domenichi, *Nobiltà della donna*, cit.

[illegible] *Il merito delle donne*. Venetia, 1600. Marinella [illegible] *Nobiltà ed eccellenza delle donne*. Venetia, 1621.

[4] [illegible], *Bianca Cappello e Fr. de' Medici*, pp. 59, 263.

particolar figlia was surrounded by the Republic. The kind and gentle Caterina Cornaro, who, as a contemporary writes, did *honore alle venetiane donne*, by her life of *honestà et magnificentia*,[1] forms a noble contrast to the seductive but restless Cappello. Cassandra Fedele was also an honour to the ladies of Venice, and is counted among the most famous of all Italy. She died in 1558. Poliziano proclaimed her *decus Italiae virgo*, and, writing to Lorenzo the Magnificent on June 20, 1491, he says: "Visitai iersera Cassandra Fedele . . . È cosa, Lorenzo, mirabile, nè meno in vulgare che in latino; discretissima, et meis oculis etiam bella."[2] In spite of the lavish display common to Venetian society, Cassandra never wore gold or jewels, nothing but the plainest white clothes. Her beauty, well worthy of the brush of Giambellino who painted her, must have varied considerably from the ordinary Venetian type. But we have no likeness of her now save an ugly engraving in the *De claris mulieribus* of Fra Filippo Foresti of Bergamo.[3] She married Giambattista Mapelli, but did not abandon her studies, though she never allowed them to distract her from her wifely duties, for she followed her husband on his long and trying journeys. Modesta Pozzo Zorzi, known under the name of Moderata Fonte, was also a good mother and no mean poet. She died in 1592, at the age of thirty-six, when giving birth to a son. Among other Venetian poetesses we must mention Vincenza Armani, Lucrezia Marinello, Rosa Levi, Veronica Franco, and others. Gaspara Stampa, the Paduan, is still better known. She has expressed in prose

[1] Sabbadino degli Arienti, *Gynevera de le clare donne*, p. 400. Bologna, 1888. (*Scelta di curiosità lett.*, Disp. CCXXIII.) The *Gynevera* bears the date 1483, and was written in honour of Ginevra Sforza, wife of Sante Bentivoglio.

[2] Simonsfeld, *Zur Geschichte der Cassandra Fedele* (in *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte*, p. 100. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1893).

[3] Ferrariae, Laurentius de Rubeis, 1497.

and verse, especially in her letters to the Count of Collalto, the sorrow of her heart for the unrequited affection he had inspired. The passion of the poor lady is full of touching tenderness. "Se accadrà giammai che la mia povera e mesta casa sia fatta degna di ricevere il suo grand'oste, che siete voi, io sono sicura che i letti, le camere, le sale, e tutto racconteranno i lamenti, i singulti, i sospiri e le lacrime che giorno e notte ho sparso chiamando il vostro nome, benedicendo però sempre nel mezzo de' miei maggiori tormenti i Cieli e la mia buona sorte della cagione di essi; perciocchè assai meglio m'è per voi, Conte, morire, che gioire per qualunque."[1] Soon after writing this, death came to release her. A note in the registers of the sanitary office runs thus: *1554, 23 aprilis, M.ª Gasparina Stampa, za 15 giorni am.ª a S. Trovaso.* She was only thirty-one. Her sister Cassandra published her poems posthumously with a dedicatory Epistle to Monsignor della Casa in which she commemorates the luckless poetess who has borne away with her *tutte le sue speranze, tutte le consolazioni e la vita stessa.*[2]

Poetesses were not lacking among the ranks of the patrician ladies, and if posterity has forgotten their verses contemporaries did not stint their praise of the learned Olimpia Malipiero, who engaged in poetic rivalry with Giulia Premarino, Foscarina Foscarini Venier, Francesca Baffo, Veneranda Bargadin Cavalli, Andriana Contarini Trevisan, Chiara Pasqualigo, Giannetta Tron, Laura Beatrice Cappello, and Cecilia Michiel.[3] The culture of the ladies of the Venetian upper classes, however, exercised but little influence on the intellectual and social development of their time, nor can it be said

[1] Gamba, *Lettere di donne it. del sec. XVI*, p. 91. Venezia, 1832.
[2] Ibid., p. 93.
[3] Bergalli, Luisa, *Compon. poetici delle più illustri rimatrici it.*, Part I. Venezia, 1726.

Portrait of Irene da Spilimbergo, by Titian. (In the possession of Count d'Attimis di Maniago)

that a poetess was a peculiar product of the Renaissance, nor yet that poetry was among the favourite pursuits of Venetian *grandes dames*,[1] and the instances of those who felt the attraction of letters are few and far between. Among the many Italian women eminent for their genius who carried on a correspondence with the savants of their day we find the names of very few Venetians. Ortensio Lando, who wrote a number of letters under the assumed names of women to demonstrate that woman was no whit man's inferior in learning, makes mention of one Venetian only, Lucietta Soranzo, in whose mouth he places his animadversions on those who condemn blue stockings, citing from ancient and modern history numerous examples of women who *lasciato l'ago poste si sono agli studi*, while he recommends them to devote themselves to letters in order to escape *la tirannia degli uomini e per guardarsi dalle loro insidie*.[2] The Venetian noble lady received, it is true, a liberal education, but she shrank from the profession of letters, from writing poetry, from learned discussions, from public speeches; she preferred to keep her fair white hands free from the dust of erudition, and looked upon study as a hindrance to the government of the family, the domain which she considered most properly her own. Irene da Spilimbergo was looked on as a phenomenon when, after the death of her father and the second marriage of her mother, Giulia da Ponte, she came to Venice to live with her uncle Gian Paolo da Ponte in his palace at San Maurizio, and there presided over meetings of the learned, who flocked around this young lady versed in literature, ancient and modern, a skilled performer on viol and lute and harpsichord, a sweet singer, and instructed in

[1] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Lib. I. Firenze, 1874. Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance und die Kunst*. Stuttgart, 1879.

[2] Lando, Ortensio, *Lettere di molte valorose donne, nelle quali chiaramente appare non esser nè di eloquentia nè di dottrina alli huomini inferiori*, pp. 31, 32. Vinegia, Giolito, 1548.

painting by Titian himself.[1] Death overtook her, when barely twenty, in her castle of Spilimbergo, and cut off a life of high promise; her early decease may possibly explain why her name has come down to posterity with such an aureole of glory.[2] Cardinal Bembo[3] recalls with peculiar pleasure the name of Marcella Marcello for her gifts in the composition of Greek and Italian verse. She was the daughter of Bembo's sister and wife of Giammatteo Bembo, a distinguished statesman who left a record of the various offices he had held in an inscription on the façade of his palace at Santa Maria Nuova.[4] But neither severe studies nor *belles lettres* hindered Marcella from bestowing the most loving care on her eight children, among whom was Giulia, also a lady of superior intelligence, wife of Count Girolamo della Torre; Francesco Sansovino wrote her life.[5] This Giulia della Torre discussed the works of Plutarch with Giorgio Gradenigo, and gave him advice as to the order in which he ought to arrange the

[1] Fabio di Maniago, in his *Storia delle belle arti friulane* (p. 245), says that his family, as heirs of one branch of the Spilimbergo family, possess three pictures by Irene, the only ones we have, though they are poor as works of art.

[2] *La Vita d'Irene da Spilimbergo* was written by Dionisio Atanagi da Cagli, in 1561, after Irene's death.

[3] Bembo, *Lettere*, II, 12. Venezia, 1745.

[4] On the façade of Palazzo Bembo at Santa Maria Nuova, in a niche, there is a statue of an old man with a long beard, representing Saturn or Time. He holds in his hand a sun. Under the niche is the following inscription composed by Bembo himself; he names the various cities where he was *podestà* or captain, and the two authors, Paolo Giovio and Sebastiano Munstero, who had referred to his achievements:

Dum volvitur Iste
Iad. Ascr. Iustinop. Ver.
Salamis, Creta Iovis
Testes Erunt Actor.
Pa. Io. Se. M.

which means "Finchè girerà questo (sole) Zara, Cattaro, Capodistria, Verona, Cipro, Creta (culla di Giove), faranno testimonianza delle mie azioni, Paolo Giovio, Sebastiano Munstero." Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 318.

[5] *Vita della illustre signora contessa Giulia Bembo della Torre.* Venezia, 1565.

Moralia and the Lives. Gradenigo praises the eloquence of Giulia, who, far from being elated, gently reproaches her friend for passing around her letters as if they were worthy of note.[1]

The ladies of noble families, who, like Oriental women, lived much at home and appeared in public only on great occasions to display their jewels and brocades, had but few opportunities of meeting strangers. "L'uso onestissimo," as a contemporary calls it, "che toglie loro gran parte della conversazione de' forestieri, non lascia che persone d'altra città sieno degne di godere i loro acuti motti, le pronte e sagge risposte, i leggiadri costumi ed i soavi e casti ragionamenti."[2] To display their learning to their fellow countrymen, who preferred the delights of love or the comforts of the family, must have seemed, even to the most learned of them, nothing short of pedantry. They endeavoured to carry out the maxim of Baldassare Castiglione that women should avoid every semblance of the masculine type, both in speech, movement, and carriage. It well may be that this sound principle of vital distinction between the sexes exercised an important biological influence on the women of Venice, destined chiefly to love and to maternity; very likely it enabled them to transmit to their progeny that organic repose, that equilibrium of the appetites and the feelings, for which Venetians were so much admired. The men, immersed as they were in the cares of State, had no time to waste on the luxuries of sentiment. Their attachment to women was not disturbed by sentimentality, but went straight to its mark, the enjoyment of physical beauty. From these serene and harmonious types of womanhood not only did the masters of the brush draw their inspiration and their marvellous colour, but statesmen, diplomats, warriors, acquired that virile energy which enabled

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, II, 38, 39.
[2] Parabosco, *Diporti*, cit., p. 308.

them to conquer difficulties and to walk straight towards their goal, guided by the will alone and free of sentimental weakness.

In Venice, down to the very close of the Republic, women never stepped outside their natural sphere, and if they exercised no direct influence on the intellectual life of their city, still less did they affect its policy. The earliest chronicles mention the case of Elisabetta Zeno, sister of the Pope Paolo Barbo, who was found to be in illegal correspondence with the Court of Rome and, on February 19, 1472, was banished to Capodistria[1] by the Council of Ten; eventually, however, she obtained leave to go to Rome, where she died in 1480. But hers is a solitary case.

Not even on the throne did the Venetian woman acquire any political weight; she was obliged to content herself with bestowing on society an air of kindly courtesy. One Venetian patrician, however, a lady of the house of Venier, seems to have played an important political *rôle*, though in a distant land. She was carried off by the Turks from an island in the Levant in 1537, and was placed in the harem of Sultan Selim, to whom she bore a son, afterwards Murad III. By her ability she gained complete command of her husband and her son; hers was the supreme influence during their reigns. She never forgot her distant fatherland, and not infrequently exerted her power in favour of Venetian interests in the East.[2] The career of this woman is an exception; for as a rule Venetian ladies who ascended foreign thrones preserved their native dislike to meddling in affairs that did not concern their sex. Nevertheless we meet with examples of sublime heroism on the part of Venetian women; their legendary prototype is Anna Erizzo, daughter of

[1] Malipiero, *Annali*, VII, 661.

[2] Almost all novelists and historians have spoken of this Sultana as a member of the Baffo family, and have built up a series of legends about her. Spagni, *Una Sultana Veneziana*. Venezia, 1900.

Paolo Erizzo, the gallant defender of Negroponte in 1470. She was made prisoner by Mahomet II. on the assurance that she should not lose her head; but by a treacherous quibble she was sawn through the middle, and so, literally, did not lose her head. Posterity desiring, perhaps, to enhance the glory of her sacrifice, invented the legend, unconfirmed by documents or by contemporary historians, that Anna was slain because she repelled the advances of Mahomet. The story of Belisandra Maraviglia, on the other hand, is confirmed by the admiration of her contemporaries. After vigorously defending the castle of San Teodoro near Canea, she was captured by the Turks and destined to slavery; to save herself from this fate she fired the powder magazine on board the ship, and blew herself, the enemy, and above a thousand Christian slaves into the air.[1]

Examples of heroic patriotism such as these throw a halo of glory round the women of Venice, whose story is often the subject for mingled pity and admiration. The love of Cecilia Barbarigo for her husband, a love which is said to have induced her to starve herself to death rather than survive him,[2] is, no doubt, a creation of romancers; but history has handed down to us the piteous tale of Marina Nani, wife of the Doge Francesco Foscari, who with her own eyes saw her son Jacopo after his body had been broken by torture; and with loving care stood by her husband when, bowed by age, he was forced, for inexorable reasons of State, to descend from the ducal throne, and at his death rejected with scorn the offer of solemn public obsequies, declaring that such a proposal was an outrage on her widowhood, for it was vain to honour the dead who in life had been treated without respect. Again there is the pitiful story of Lucrezia Sanudo

[1] The family of Belisandra lived at San Trovaso, near the bridge which still bears the name *Delle Maraveglie*.

[2] Palazzi, *La virtù in gioco, ovvero dame patrizie di Venezia famose per nascita, per lettere, per armi*, etc., p. 80. Venezia, Parè, 1681.

Cappello, who was slain in the night of July 11, 1602. An autograph letter from Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Canea, to Vincenzo Dandolo, ends thus: "Un Sanudo che sta in rio della Croce alla Giudecca, *fece l'altro hieri confessare sua moglie* ch'era Cappello, et la notte seguente, su le cinque hore, li diede di un stiletto nella gola et la ammazzõ: dicesi perchè non gli era fidele, *ma la contrada la predica per una santa.*"[1] Sanudo was condemned to banishment and to lose his head if he broke his confines. The very papers of the Ten prove that his unlucky wife was truly *una santa;* they tell us that Sanudo slew his wife when in bed.[2] Priuli[3] adds *per suspeto vano*, and that the murderer confessed to have *incorso in error tale per sospetto di honor*, and implored the pardon of the Doge, which was granted on the intercession of Sanudo's children.

But scenes of blood, such as those which stained the house of the Medici, rarely happened to disturb the placid tenour of Venetian domestic life. Venetian history, down to the very close, is occupied solely with public events, the achievements of the glorious city, and women's names rarely if ever occur. They emerge in the splendour of a public festival or are hidden away in the shadow of the cloister. The convent for some proved but a dolorous prison appointed for their innocent young life by parental tyranny; for others it became, as we shall see, a home of corruption and of vice; but for certain pious souls it offered an

[1] The letter was in the Stefani library, now dispersed. In *Vecchie Storie*, p. 71 (Venezia, 1882), we have already remarked that the idea of making a wife confess before killing her — a startlingly new idea — must recall Othello's question to Desdemona. Possibly Shakespeare may have heard through the Venetian ambassador of this Sanudo case, and it is not improbable that the story may have inspired the end of Desdemona. But a hundred wild conjectures have been applied to "Othello," while it is certain that Shakespeare's real source is the famous novel in the *Ecatommiti* of Cinzio Giraldi.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X., *Criminal*, Reg. 20, c. 92, 96.

[3] *Genealogie*, V, 4805.

asylum where at the foot of the altar they could find peace from the sorrows and disappointments of this life. Such were Illuminata Bembo, who along with Santa Caterina de' Vigris, founded in Bologna the Convent of the Body of Christ, wrote books of devotion, and died there in the odour of sanctity in 1483; and Sister Serafina Contarini, worthy sister of that noble figure, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, who in 1542 received from Vittoria Colonna words of grave and lofty consolation for the death of her brother. Vittoria recalls *le pie e dolci lettere* of Serapina, *che viveva armata di tutti quegli scudi divini che non lasciano passare troppo addentro le punte delle saette umane.*

Many other noble ladies of Venice longed for and sought the cloister; but as a good and wise prelate, Cornelio Musso, Bishop of Bitonto, writes, "Ma la vita non è da sprezzare, perchè è dono di Dio." These words were addressed to Chiara Cornaro, who, on becoming a widow, neglected her family duties, gave herself up to religion, and desired her daughters to become nuns along with her; but the good bishop warned her that "è uno opponersi a Dio il non volere che le figliuole si maritino."[2] The sacred domain of the family never found a more loving sovereign than Chiara's father, Alvise Cornaro, who in company with his wife, Veronica di Spilimbergo, his children and grandchildren, brought into harmony Christian charity and stoic temperance in a union that is worthy of the sages of antiquity. There were patrician homes where the noise of the great world sounded merely like the roar of a distant stormy sea.

[1] Gamba, *Lettere di donne italiane del secolo XVI*, p. 41.
[2] *Miscell. di varie operette*, VIII, 149–192. Venezia, Bettinelli, 1743.

CHAPTER XV

THE FAMILY IN THE UPPER AND LOWER CLASSES — CEREMONIES ATTENDING MARRIAGE AND BIRTH — FUNERAL FUNCTIONS AND THE GRAVE

OF the intimate side of Venetian family life we know but little. Chronicles and ancient documents alike leave it in obscurity. Those same men who show their quality in the thick of the fight, at the Council board, at public ceremonies, or in the gatherings of polite society, seem to draw a veil over the intimacies of their private life, which, nevertheless, must have afforded both comfort to their bodies and recreation to their minds continually immersed in grave and varied pursuits. Accordingly we find but little that throws light on Venetian family life, either in the chronicles or in the literature of the epoch, or only on such external aspects of it as concern the more important functions, — birth, marriage, and death. Most of the treatises which deal with the family abound in moral maxims, but never give us a picture of domestic life. For example, a volume by Cardinal Agostino Valier, Bishop of Verona, hardly gives us the smallest indications of how Venetian wives and mothers really felt. In 1560 Laura Valier married Giorgio Gradenigo, and in honour of this event her brother, the Cardinal, dedicated a volume of precepts and injunctions to the bride. Among other advice he counsels his sister not to show excessive love for her lord, as that may breed in her jealousy, by which women are wont to torment

themselves and their relations; she should avoid all prying into her husband's secrets, especially into those which affect the family; and as far as possible she should absent herself from public festivals, shows, and comedies. "Io non credo," says Valier, "che la vanità delle donne sia sempre accompagnata da dishonestà; anzi credo che molte donne vane sieno oneste: ma ben affermerei che non potessero esser chiamate donne savie e buone madri di famiglia."[1]

Sperone Speroni, in one of his dialogues, places in the mouth of Pietro Pomponazzo excellent maxims as to the government of the family and on the true way in which to live in peace with one's husband, *dote rara ai dì nostri*.[2] "La moglie," says Pomponazzo, "deve spogliare il suo arbitrio di libertà sottomettendolo al marito; l'onor della donna, il quale è fiore che ogni fiato di tristo vento guasta e distrugge, non si conserva altramente che nel volere del marito, e l'amore a lui non deve smarrire nè contaminare giammai per niuna sua infermità sì dell'animo come del corpo; d'opra e di cibo deve abbondar la famiglia, perchè ozio nè fame non l'assalisca mai, e la casa deve essere disposta con quell'ordine che è forma e perfezione d'ogni cosa." He goes on to cite, as a living exemplar of all that is good and beautiful in the foregoing precepts, a Venetian lady whom he does not name, but who unites supreme comeliness and the most refined qualities of amiability, grace, and gentleness, — a lady whose acquaintance Pomponazzo had made during his sojourn in the lagoons.

Wise advice to mothers is not wanting, even from those who had less right to give it. For example, the printer and man of letters Francesco Marcolini, the

[1] *Istruzione del modo di vivere delle donne maritate del Cardinale Agostino Valier, vescovo di Verona, a madonna Laura Gradenigo sua sorella.* Printed for the Nozze Manzoni-Gradenigo, cap. III, V, VII, XI. Venezia, 1863.

[2] Speroni, *Opere*, I, 75. Venezia, 1740.

author, as it would seem, of the pornographic *Stanze della Menta*,[1] writes, with what sincerity we know not, in his *Sorti:*

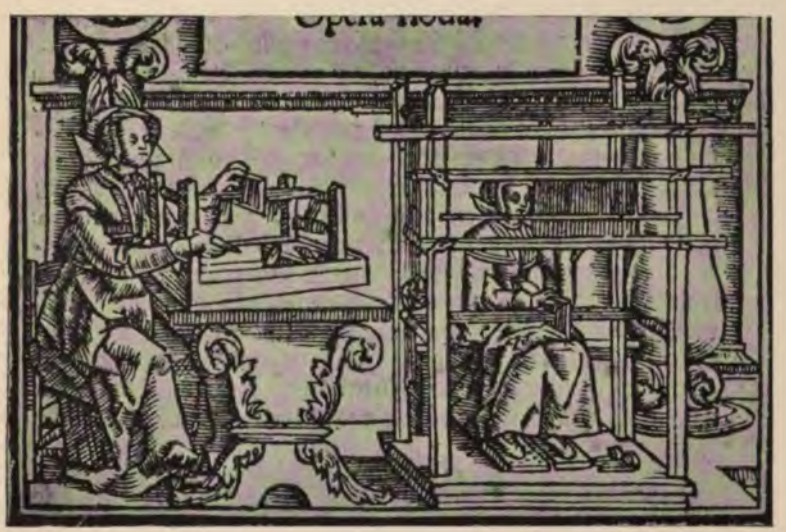
> Non è cosa più santa della moglie;
> Ella governa i figli, ella la casa,
> Ed ogni affanno del marito toglie.[2]

Others advise women not to spend too much time in the society of ladies and their lovers, not only not to neglect the *lavoro ingenioso e bello del raccamare*, but also to become skilful housewives, to decorate the rooms, to see to the beds, to take care that all the household goods are carefully arranged, and even to learn the details of cooking and serving the food. It is true that these sage counsellors did not expect their advice to be followed, for, as they admit, women "stimavano più bella lode imparare in che guisa si compongano i belletti."[3]

[1] The *Menta* was published anonymously by Marcolini was in 1537, along with the *Vendemmiatore* of Luigi Tansillo. The title of the book was *Stanze di cultura sopra gli horti de le donne* di Luigi Tansillo, *colle Stanze in lode della Menta.*

[2] *Le Sorti*, cit., c. 166. The answers in *terza rima* were written by Lodovico Dolce. Cicogna, *Mem. intorno la vita e le opere di L. Dolce*, p. 71. Casali, *Ann. della tip. Marcolini*, p. 129. Forlì, 1861.

[3] Dolce, L., *Della institution della donna*, p. 12. Vinezia, 1559. This is a free rendering of Lodovico Vives: *De institutione faeminae christianae*, published in 1524. See Bongi, *Annali del Giolito*, I, 101. As an example of wifely abnegation Dolce (pp. 48, 49) tells the following tale, probably invented by himself, for we doubt whether the good lady, after having lived with her husband and borne him children, still remained *sana e bella:* "Nella nostra città, ricca di ogni virtù, et abondevole di ogni laudevole et bel costume, vive ancora una honesta Donna: la quale essendo maritata bellissima et molto fanciulla, la prima notte, che col marito si giacque, s'avvide, che egli haveva le coscie fasciate, et indi a pochi dì il marito infermando fu scoperto lui essere offeso da quel male, che tanti ne ha già guasti per tutta l'Europa, il quale oltre procedendo, lo tenne nel letto dieci anni; et a tal forma lo ridusse, che'l misero huomo più a corpo morto, che a huomo vivo assomigliava, nel qual tutto tempo ella con tanta sollecitudine attendeva alla cura del marito, et serviva ai bisogni della casa, che ne hora, ne punto di tempo haveva da respirare. Di sua mano gli medicava le piaghe: gli amministrava le vivande: et senza schifezza alcuna più pietosa a lui, ch'a se medesima, trattava sempre e mondava quelle parti, che erano orribili da riguardare. Morì infine il marito: et ella è rimasta con due figliuoli, sana et bella come il primo giorno che nacque."



NETIAN WOMEN embroidering—from the "Burato,"
nice, Alessandro Paganino. (Brescia, Library)

And yet these noble ladies, even those who cared more for splendour and luxury than for the duties of the house, had all passed through a hard childhood and had been brought up under a discipline almost too harsh. Children were taught to use towards their parents that obsequiousness and servility which crushed all childlike tenderness; it was held to be less dangerous to err on the side of severity than of indulgence, — the one teaches, the other corrupts.[1] Cardinal Valier advises mothers to teach their children the fear of God, *non perdonando alla verga* and "tenendo ascoso più che si può con loro il grande amore volendo in ogni modo essere obbedita la madre ed esercitar imperio in questa loro tenera età."[2] As we have already noted, the boys were intrusted to tutors, who after the tedium of school hours, taught them to admire the beauties of nature and to study the essential qualities of things and people. The girls, on the contrary, were confined to special apartments in the palace, where they lived in the charge of governesses; the custom of sending them to convents for their education was introduced later on. Though destined to great marriages, they hardly knew anything of the luxury which reigned in other parts of the family palace. They grew up in wearisome idleness, relieved only by needlework,—work which was not without its merits, for it is certain that those beautiful books of designs for embroidery and lace which are common all down the Cinquecento served as patterns for these noble ladies and their modes in the creation of those lovely specimens of lace which went to adorn the wedding trousseau. Hours and hours were dedicated to devotions, and the young ladies and their attendants would recite together the *Salve Regina*, the *Ave Maris Stella*, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*.[3] The books

[1] Dolce, op. cit., p. 10.
[2] Valier, *Istruzione*, cit., cap. X, XII.
[3] Ibid., cap. XII.

which were read again and again were books of prayer and of precepts "officieti grandi, mezani et mezanelli et piccoli . . . tutti istoriadi cum frixi et figure, et in miniature in disegno, facte de intajo, compendi de oration, officioli de Maria Vergine."[1]

The boys frequently went to church, and received religious instruction in the public schools opened for that purpose on festivals. For use in these schools were printed books of catechisms with questions and answers.[2] But the girls were rarely allowed to leave the house,[3] not even to go to church, and on the few occasions when they appeared on the street they were attended by armed servants,[4] and wore great veils (*vela subtilia*) of white silk which covered the head and the breast,[5] "ita" as Casola says "che non so come possano vedere andare per la via."[6] This rigid custom of confining the young ladies to their houses may have helped to create the habit of having an oratory in each

[1] Fulin, *Doc. per la storia della stampa* (*Arch. Ven.*, XXIII, 180, 188).

[2] *Modo breve et facile, utile et necessario in forma di dialogo di ammaestrare i figliuoli mascoli et femine et quelli che non sanno nelle divotioni et buoni costumi del viver Christiano.* The anonymous author informs the reader that the book was composed for use in the public school opened in Venice, to teach Christian Doctrine on feast days. If the sons of patricians attended these schools which were frequented by the children of the bourgeoisie and of the people, it is certain that their daughters did not. The Venetian press published many books of questions and answers, of lauds and sermons, "appropriati da far recitare alli putti nelle scuole la festa e per ammaestrarli nella santa disciplina et dottrina di Christo."

[3] On September 28, 1593, the Patriarch, Lorenzo Priuli, in an exaggeration, it may be, of religious and patriotic zeal, wrote to Cardinal Mutti: "Quasi tutte le giovani vergini di condizione, le quali per antico costume non si lasciano vedere, nè escono di casa, prima che si maritino, appena il giorno di Pasqua e di Natale per pigliar la S. Comunione." Gallicciolli, II, 411.

[4] Gallicciolli (II, 425), in order to show that it was not safe to allow maidens to go through the streets without an escort, quotes Sanudo, who says: "nel 1482, 2 marzo, al trageto vecchio di S. Thomado fo rapido la fia de Zuan di Riviera donzella che andava a Messa con la madre per Francesco Zucato di Sier Pollo, qual era travestido, fo afferrada e messa in barca per forza e menata via. Parse tal cosa di novo a tutti, adeo per gli Avogadori di Comun fu posto in bando di terre e luoghi con taja L. 3000 vivo o morto."

[5] Vecellio, *Habiti*, p. 95.

[6] Casola, op. cit., p. 15.

VENETIAN MAIDENS

private house. The Venetians, though proud of their freedom from ecclesiastical interference, and frequently ostentatious in the display of mundane pomp, were still fervent Catholics in church and strict observers of all religious ceremonies; their children at the proper canonical age proceeded to the rites of confirmation, confession, and the Eucharist.[1] The patricians never ceased to build new churches and to adorn them magnificently, in order to display their devotion and at the same time to satisfy their vanity. But though the nobles enjoyed seats apart from the people in the parish churches,[2] most of them had chapels in their private houses; and this custom reached such a pitch that the Patriarch Girolamo Quirini forbade priests, under pain of excommunication, to celebrate in private chapels even of those *facultatem Apostolicam habentium*. This prohibition was removed by Clement VII, to the great satisfaction of the patriciate, who thus satisfied their pride and at the same time were able to keep their daughters in cloistral seclusion. Thus the young ladies of Venice were reared like hot-house plants, and bred to a life of monotony all their youth, till one day they found themselves, with perilous rapidity, flung amid the agitations of the great world.

In fact, if the maiden were not destined to the cloister, her parents, as soon as she reached marriageable age, proceeded to arrange a match which by wealth and lineage might add to the family honour. But in this matter of marriage the State itself intervened. While leaving to the Church all that related to the marriage knot and its dissolution, the civil magistrates supervised the contract, dower, alimony, custody, and legitimacy of offspring.[3] The laws relating to the

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 391 et seq.

[2] Aretino (*Lettere*, VI, 64) says that he saw "nei dì festivi rimanere fuora del tempio le vili brigate e abiette e solo adagiarsi nei luoghi d'onore e nei seggi le persone qualificate e pompose."

[3] Cecchetti, *La Republica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma*, I, 57.

family had for their main object to exclude from the sovereign body in the State all undesirable persons, such as illegitimates,[1] sons of nobles born from *alchuna fantesca femina di villa, ovver qualunque altra di abjetta e vil condition*, even if the father had subsequently married the mother.[2] On August 31, 1506, it was resolved that sons born in wedlock must be registered within eight days of birth, in the office of the Avogadori di Comun, either by the father or by the mother or by two of the nearest relations, who must declare "el zorno del nascimento, et etiam quello esser de legitimo matrimonio nasciuto, specificando el nome primo e secondo de esso fiol," and the name, birthplace, and social status of the mother.[3] This most important measure gave rise to the *Libro di Nascite*, a species of register of noble births. On his marriage a patrician and his wife were bound to present themselves within a month before the Avogadori di Comune, along with two of his relations and two of hers, who were called on to swear "quella esser sua moglie legitima e sposata con dechiarir la qualità del padre e condition di essa donna, acciò che se 'l matrimonio non sarà delli prohibiti dalle leze nostre el sii notato sopra un libro separato . . . et sia sottoscritto per tutti tre gl'Avogadori."[4] This decree, which bears the date April 26, 1526, created the second register, or *Libro Matrimoni*; the *Libro delle nascite* and the *Libro matrimoni* together formed the *Libro d'oro*, which was kept by the Avogadori down to the fall of the Republic. On March 9, 1533, it was resolved that should any doubt as to the

[1] On October 27, 1277, it was resolved that no bastard *possit eligi de Majori Consilio* (Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Comune*, I, c. 40). This law was repeated on December 28, 1376; March 8, 1414; March 5, 1430.

[2] Exception, however, was made in the case of a patrician who had announced his marriage with a woman of *vil condition* on the day it was celebrated (Ibid., M. C., *Ursa*, c. 39, May 26, 1422).

[3] Ibid., Cons. X, *Misti*, Reg. 31, c. 62.

[4] Ibid., *Comuni*, Reg. 2, c. 16.

status of the wife arise in the minds of the Avogadori they were to suspend all deliberations and refer the matter to a committee composed of the Doge, the six Ducal Councillors, and the heads of the Quarantia,[1] which held an inquiry on the father and grandfather of the bride as to whether they had "esercitato arte meccanica et manuale ovvero di altra condizione simile a questa, sempre in tendendosi che la donna che haverà tenuto vita inhonesta non possi esser admessa."[2]

After the middle of the sixteenth century the marriages of the *cittadini originari* were also placed under special laws. A decree of July 3, 1569, declared posts in the Chancery "non possano dalla Quarantia criminale conferirsi che a cittadini nostri originarj nati di legittimo matrimonio, i quali siano obbligati provar all' officio dell'Avogaria predetta non solamente la civiltà sua originaria, ma il legittimo nascimento loro et delli loro padri et avi."[3]

Other laws, for example, on August 22, 1420, were enacted to check excess in dowers which threatened to ruin private estates and tempted the nobility to abandon trade, as the young men found it more pleasant to enrich themselves by marriage.[4] Dowers, towards the close of the Quattrocento, fluctuated between three and ten thousand ducats.[5] On occasion, however, they reached a far more conspicuous figure. Caterina Cornaro, for example, the fourth of eight children, brought with her a dower of one thousand pounds of gold, equal to one hundred thousand ducats.[6] Sometimes the dower took the form of house property. Pellegrina Foscari, for instance, in 1491, brought to her husband, Alvise Mocenigo, the houses on both sides

[1] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Libro d'oro*, XI, c. 172.
[2] Ibid., Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 59, c. 35, June 30, 1589.
[3] Ibid., M. C., *Angelus*, c. 34.
[4] Ibid., Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 28, c. 130.
[5] Sanudo, *Diarî*, I, 886.
[6] Simonsfeld, *Caterina Cornaro*, loc. cit., p. 55.

of the Calle del Paradiso at San Lio.[1] The beautiful cusped arch still spans the bridge and unites the two rows of houses; it bears the arms of the proprietors Foscari Mocenigo, and possibly the portraits of the couple in those two little figures kneeling by the side of the Madonna, — one a man in gown and cap, the other a woman with puffed sleeves and a coif on her head.

Law followed law on this subject of dowers, which had a tendency to mount higher and higher and contributed to the venality and worldliness of marriages. On November 4, 1505, the Senate passed a resolution that no noble or citizen might give "in dote, ne in promessa ne lui over altri per lui più de ducati tremila in tutto, computati tutti fornimenti robe, doni, corriedi et cadauna altra cosa."[2] But the *solenne et sancta parte* was neither *ben intesa* nor *ben exequita*, and was repeated again with the modification that the dower was not to exceed four thousand ducats of six lire four soldi each, including trousseau and everything else.[3] By way of ostentation the dower, in specie, was sometimes placed upon the table at the wedding feast, as happened at the marriage of Da Lezze-Contarini, when six basins containing the four thousand ducats figure among food, the trophies, and the gold plate; Sanudo drily remarks, *è ben fato chi pol far*.[4]

[1] Museo Civico, Arch. *Mocenigo delle Perle*, II, 101, April 30, 1538. Declaration to the Savii made by Alvise Mocenigo, Cavaliere, and the Nobil Donna Pellegrina Foscari, his spouse, and by Mes. Antonio Procuratore and Francesco and Michiel, his sons. There are recorded a house belonging to the Foscari "in contrà di Santa Marina la qual habitano," and at Santa Maria Formosa "nel luogo detto Paradiso," twenty-six other houses.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 15, c. 78.

[3] Ibid., Reg. 37, c. 150, July 3, 1551. In the Appendix, Doc. D, we have given some examples of marriage contracts between nobles and between citizens, Nos. I, II, III, and IV. The marriage contract approved by the Doge, his Councillors and the Censors, was signed by the Avogadori di Comun, and registered by the notary to the Court (Decree of the Senate, April 26, 1535). See, too, *Un contratto di nozze nel 1537*, cit.

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VII, 161.

Dowers, however, went on increasing up to forty and even sixty thousand ducats.[1]

The marriage contracts, which were in early times stipulated in presence of the Doge himself, after the settlement of the *dota et promission dotal*, usually rehearsed at length *tutte le cosse per el vestir della sposa;* dresses of velvet, satin, and damask, furs, jewels, stockings, shoes, aprons, coifs of gold and silver cloth, veils, chemises, shawls, fans, looking-glasses of steel, combs, comb-cases of ivory and boxwood, gilt bodkins,[2] and so on. Marriages, often arranged by third parties, were published in the Court of the Palace, where the bridegroom, who frequently had never seen his bride, received the congratulations of his brother patricians. On the day appointed for the signature of the contract the bridegroom, in the red dress of a nobleman, accompanied by his relations, went to the house of the bride. She, in the meantime, had been dressed in all her finery of gold, pearls, and jewels, with her hair let down over her shoulders and *intorti di fili d'oro*,[3] or with a coronet of gems or a velvet cap on her head.[4] The maiden issued from her chamber and entered the hall, where along with the bridegroom were assembled

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 37, c. 107 (March 23, 1555); Reg. 43, c. 33 (December 18, 1560). In July of 1514 a lady of the Molin family married a Contarini, and a lady of the Diedo family a Vendramin; each had eight thousand ducats as dower. Sanudo (XVIII, 329, 330), under date February 16, 1532, writes: "Noto in questa sera fu fatto una bellissima festa a cha Corner a San Polo per le nozze di la fia di Ser Zuam Corner, q^m ser Zorzi Kav. Proc. con dote ducati x milia, videlizet 9000 contadi e 1000 tra robe et dinari in ser Piero Morexini di ser Zuam Francesco da San Cassan, ricchissimo." Women were allowed their own paraphernalia; the husband had the right to claim a dower, but with the obligation to restore it intact in case of death or of separation. Even the dowers of plain citizens were far from modest. See Appendix, Doc. D, Marriage Contracts, No. IV.

[2] *Un contratto di nozze del 1537*, cit.

[3] Vecellio, *Habiti*, pp. 95, 97.

[4] Sanudo (*Diarî*, XXIII, 201) praises one of the Trevisan ladies, wife of a Grimani, *bella donna et vene fuora escaviada co'bellissimi capelli e co' berretto di veludo alla forestiera.*

a crowd of noble friends, who made a passage for her progress. Guided by and leaning on an old retainer called the *ballerino*, she advanced towards the guests, in front of whom she made "un passo e mezzo poi un saltarello modesto et inchinandosi con un bello inchino pigliava licenza da loro."[1] Then, to the sound of trumpets and fifes, the contract was signed, and the bride descended to her gondola to pay visits to those convents where any of her relations might be as nuns; on the way the bride sat outside the *felze* on a bench (*trasto*), hence the phrase *andar in trasto*. The gondola of the bride was followed by many others, while the crowd along the quays saluted and acclaimed. Etiquette in every detail of dress and fittings had to be strictly observed, and if, for example, the bride's gondoliers were not wearing scarlet silk stockings, the other gondoliers pursued them with groans and hissing and uproar.[2] On the day appointed for the ceremony in the church, the palaces of the young couple and of their nearest relations were hung with valuable carpets and tapestries, depending from the windows. At earliest dawn the bride, in white silk or crimson velvet, and the bridegroom in the robes of a patrician, descended between two rows of domestics whose hats and liveries were adorned with gold and silver cords,[3] and took their way to the church, preceded by fifes and trumpets[4] and followed by a procession of friends and relations, all sumptuously dressed. After the wedding knot was tied, the couple went to pay their respects to the Doge; but after 1501 this custom was discontinued, except in the case of the Doge's relations. Besides the

[1] Franco, *Habiti delle donne venetiane*, p. 7.

[2] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 170.

[3] *Legge prohibitiva del Senato* (October 8, 1562).

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XI, 471. "Colle trombe e pifferi in ciesa San Geminian fo sposà la nezza di ser Alvise Pasqualigo in ser Zanfranco Moroxini. Cosa che da anni non si fà, ma si sposa in ciesa segrete e po' se fa la festa. Ma colle trombe e pifferi è il vero e buon modo antico."

Bride with the *Ballerino* — from the "Customs" of Franco

witnesses to the contract there was also the *mediator* or *compare*. In early days there was only one *compare dell'anello*, or best man, but in 1517 we find for the first time, on the marriage of the niece of the Doge Venier[1] with Giambattista Grimani, two groomsmen. "Et fu cosa nova," says Sanudo, "do compari di l'anello: sier Marco Antonio Bernardo e sier Ferigo Contarini . . . che più non si usò tal cosa." As time went on, the number of *compari* increased till they sometimes reached a total of forty. Each one of them gave a present, which occasionally touched the value of two hundred ducats, and on the day following the wedding they presented the bridegroom with bonbons of pine kernels and sugar and fresh eggs, and the bride with work-baskets, housewives full of Damascus needles, and a silver ring stand, all beautifully wrought in Damascene or chasing.[2] As early as the fifteenth century the custom prevailed of addressing the couple in nuptial orations and poems in Latin or in the vulgar tongue. Mummers, too, began to play their part at wedding feasts, where the display of gold and silver plate was accompanied by a growing refinement in the quality of the dishes, especially of the sweets,[3] until it became necessary to prohibit confectionery of excessive costliness and to limit this course to *scalette e confetti menudi*.[4] These wedding feasts were kept up, sometimes for many consecutive days, and Malipiero tells us that the patrician Giorgio Cornaro, on the marriage of his

[1] Sanudo (*Diarî*, XXIV, 608) says: "Fo sposato, questa mattina (August 26, 1517) la fia di ser Zuan Alvise Venier . . . neza dil principe nostro, fia di so fratello." There must be an error of the copyist here, for Antonio Venier was Doge from 1382 to 1400, and Francesco Venier from 1554 to 1556. In 1517 the Doge was Leonardo Loredano.

[2] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 197. Mutinelli, *Costume Veneziano*, p. 122. Venezia, 1831.

[3] Arch. di Stato, *Leggi prohibitive*, Senato, January 29, 1493 (o. s.); January 12, 1503 (o. s.); November 21, 1504; October 8, 1562.

[4] Morelli, J., *Solennità e pompe nuziali* (in *Operette*, I, 146). *Scalette* (*ciambelle*) were round cakes. Hence the name *scaletteri*.

daughter with Giovanni Soranzo, "a tegnù molti dì de longo corte bandia e ha fatto convito a cento e più nobili la volta perchè" — he adds, not without a touch of malice — "con tal arte l'ambition sta in essercitio, e i invitati son più facili ai so bisogni e a seguir le so domande."[1]

Wedding feasts were often enlivened by the presence of the Companions of the Hose, who, in honour of some patrician marriage, would don scarlet for the eight days preceding the ceremony.[2] On such occasions they would erect a new Club, as for example in 1506, when the *Contenti* were instituted to celebrate the wedding of Sebastian Contarini with a Grimani.[3] As on all other public occasions, the Venetians insisted on almost excessive display at weddings with the intent, above all, to impress strangers. Tan Gavardino, Ambassador of the Soldan of Egypt, must have felt a sense of amazement when, on October 4, 1506, accompanied by ten negroes, he entered the Palazzo Nani at SS. Gervasio e Protasio, where fifty noble ladies were assisting at the wedding of a Nani and a gentleman of the Badoer family.[4] The ambassadors of France and of Ferrara also were invited to the feast and joined in the dance which, on June 26, 1524, were given in honour of the marriage of a Grimani with a lady of the Pisani family; two barges were hung with flags and carpets, the ladies and gentlemen took their places on board, and, followed by a crowd of boats, passed down the Grand Canal amid the applause of the spectators who thronged the windows.[5] We have records of other splendid ceremonies which reached the height of magnificence if the couple happened to be related to the Doge. In 1524, when the marriage of Vienna, niece of the Doge Gritti, to Paolo Contarini degli Scrigni, took place, his Serenity,

[1] *Annali*, Part II, p. 704.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXVII, 396.
[3] Ibid., VI, 99.
[4] Ibid., VI, 437.
[5] Ibid., XVIII, 300.

A Bride in her Gondola — from the "Customs" of Franco

dressed in crimson velvet and surrounded by the Signoria, received the bridegroom and all his relations in the Ducal Palace. The day following, the Senate Chamber was thrown open for a ball which ended with a sumptuous supper. On the wedding day a hundred noble ladies, wearing silver ornaments, pearls, and jewels, accompanied the bride, who was dressed in rose-coloured velvet, to the church of San Marco; the bridegroom was in black robes. The torch-bearers, trumpeters, captains of the guard, headed the procession. The church and the piazza were thronged with people, and, at the conclusion of the Mass, the ladies issued from the great door, and after passing along the Procuratie they returned to the Palace, where a banquet was served at which six women of the people, upon special invitation, had a seat. After the banquet the bride, before taking leave, flung herself in tears at the Doge's feet; then, followed by the whole train, she embarked on board the Bucentaur, where dancing began. Amid the blare of trumpets and the roar of guns the gilded ship passed up the Grand Canal to the home of the Contarini at SS. Gervasio e Protasio. The whole palace was hung with carpets and tapestry, and the chambers were ablaze with a hundred flambeaux. Among the gifts offered by the groomsmen to the bride, that of Bernardo Cappello attracted particular attention; it consisted of a great silver basket containing a stuffed sable with a gold collar round its neck.[1]

This passion for magnificent marriage functions was strong enough to override the terrors of the Ten; for in April of 1507 we find a Priuli who had been banished from Venice, wedding, at Mestre, a daughter of Giorgio Cornaro, niece of the Queen of Cyprus, and many nobles, including the Procuratori Tomaso Mocenigo and Domenico Trevisan, assisted at the ceremony.[2] In

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXVII, 445, 447, 456, 470–471.
[2] Ibid., VII, 44–45.

1505 the Palazzo Cornaro at San Cassiano opened its doors for more decorous functions when, in the presence of Queen Caterina, her namesake and niece married Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, and in 1509, when another niece, a Venier, wedded Count Guido Brandolin.[1]

Nearly the same display is to be observed in the marriages of the *cittadini originari*, who were admitted to the service of the Venetian chancery. They were rich, and modelled their habits of life upon those of the governing caste. The family of Freschi, for instance, repeatedly opened its house at San Basso for magnificent marriage feasts. There is an interesting and curious codex at the Marciana which preserves the memoirs of this family and shows us the wedding dresses of several generations, beginning with Tomaso Davide Freschi (1367–1452). His first wife was named Caterina, his second Elisabetta. His son Giovanni Davide (b. 1413) had by his wife Elisabetta Penzina, Beatrice (b. 1454), who married Pietro Baffo; Zaccheria (b. 1456), secretary to the Ten, who married Dorotea; and Davide, who in 1497 wedded Maria Bianco. This last union was honoured by festivities for several days before its celebration, and during this period the bridegroom and his immediate relations appeared in public in patrician red with stoles of black velvet. On the wedding day the bride wore a robe with a long train of white silk, with open sleeves that fell to the ground, a band of pearls in her hair, a necklace and bodice flashing with gems. A band with the trumpeters of the Ducal Court headed the procession. In 1504 a lady named Samaritana of the Freschi family married Melchiorre della Nave, a Venetian citizen, and again the Casa Freschi renewed its functions, banquets, music, and dances. The bride was conducted to visit the Doge, — a practice which, as we have said, was abandoned after 1501, — while twenty matrons, preceded by music

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VI, 255, and VII, 756.

and fifes, led her to the altar. She wore a double skirt of crimson velvet and a bodice and sleeves woven in gold; her ornaments were pearls and gems and a golden band that circled her head like a coronet.[1]

The mind of the principal actors in such scenes of dazzling splendour must have been oppressed and hampered. The girl plighted her troth without, perhaps, ever having once experienced a throb of the heart for the man with whom she was to share life's joys and sorrows. This absence of all affection in marriages, which were concluded to satisfy family convenience and family pride, was the prime factor in the breakdown of the family. The memoirs of the day, and especially Sanudo, who gives us the voice of truth as regards the diurnal life of Venice, tell us of festivals, balls, dresses, but never of love, of modesty, of virtue in the bride, who up to the moment of her wedding had been carefully guarded in the paternal home, only to be launched at a moment's notice into the midst of temptations, without even a superficial acquaintance with the ways of the world which even in early years may be acquired by mingling with one's fellow beings. The modest and retiring dress was summarily cast aside, and the young bride was called upon suddenly to show herself in public in gorgeous raiment of brocade, *habillemens descouverts, mountrant toutes les espaulles*, as a stranger remarked with an approval not free from malignity, after he had seen many *belles femmes, nouvellement mariées*.[2]

Nor was the bride left free to the enjoyment of the noblest of all affections even after she had become a mother. Aristocratic hauteur surrounded even the cradle with pompous ceremonies. Casola, speaking of the patricians, declared that they were haughty even in

[1] *Memorie dell'ill. Famiglia Freschi.* MS. Svajer, now in the Marciana, Cl. VII ital., Cod. 165. Jacopo Morelli was the first to call attention to this curious codex. *Operette*, I, 147 et seq.

[2] Desvoisins, *Voyage*, cit.

their own homes, *forse per il grande dominio che hanno*, and "quando nasce uno fiolo ad uno venetiano, per se dicono: *ele nato un signore al mondo*."[1] And later on, Garzoni, speaking in general of all the richer Venetians, tells us, with his somewhat coarse wit, that the mother, when she received the babe the moment it was born, announced its sex at the top of her voice, and if it was a boy, at once demanded "una mancia dal padre, e aspettando molte volte il cancaro e il malanno quando gli dava nuova che era femmina, perchè la robba per le femmine va fuori di casa e per gli maschi v'entra dentro."[2] We have seen how Carpaccio, in his picture "The Nativity of the Virgin," has portrayed every detail of the aspect of a birth-chamber, and the care that was at once bestowed on a new-born babe.[3] Other Venetian painters, too, among whom we may record the Bergamasque Santa Croce and Carotti the Veronese, have drawn the same scene with realistic vigour. We must not omit to mention here, among the utensils connected with childbirth, the saucer, or *piadena*, called the *impalliata da puerpera*, in which they brought broth or other strengthening food to the mother. We still have specimens of these vessels made of fine majolica, the saucer itself, *piadena*, and the cover, *taier*, some gracefully painted, some in plain white, and made of various sizes, so that they can fit into each other, forming a kind of urn on the top of which came the salt-cellar and the egg-cup. The mother is represented in these contemporary pictures as lying in bed dressed for a reception, and in fact on the days immediately following a birth Venetian women were wont to receive the friends of the family in their rooms sumptuously fitted up for the occasion. The bedquilts were woven in gold, silver, and silk; the nightgown, the jacket, of finest linen embroidered

[1] Casola, op. cit., p. 14.
[2] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 836.
[3] Cf. Part I, Vol. I, p. 58 of this work.

and fringed with lace.[1] Casola, on his journey back from the Holy Land (1494), stopped once more in the lagoons before returning to Milan to take up his post as canon in the Cathedral, and in company with the Papal Nuncio and the ambassadors of France and of the Duke of Milan, he was taken to pay a visit in the house of one of the Dolfin family, whose wife had lately given birth to a child, in order that he might see *la pompa e la grande magnificentia dei quelli zentilhomini*. Casola describes the splendid bedchamber of the *infantata*, noting that neither the Queen of France nor the Duchess of Milan would in similar circumstances have enjoyed *tanta pompa*, and he adds, "De li ornamenti del lecto e de la donna, cioè coperte e cossini, li quali erano sei e altre cortine, ho pensato più presto de tacerle che dirle, dubitando non me siano credute. Erano invero piene de admiratione." But Casola was not a Milanese for nothing, and in the midst of his admiration he bethought him that the pleasures of the palate also deserve their place, and adds regretfully: "È stato lì per un pezo, contemplata la camera e le persone li erano ogni homo se partì digiuno, servendosi altro costume non si fa a Milano . . . dove in simili visitationi se fanno de solenne refectione. Credo che a Venetia fanno pensero ch'el reficere de li ogi basti."[2] But in truth parsimony was not exactly a Venetian virtue, and the severity of the law was powerless to inculcate it. Expenses on entertainments of every description, even down to the refections offered on the occasion of a birth or a baptism, grew so excessive that in 1537 the Senate forbade noble, citizen, or plebeian alike to receive any visits except those of relations during the period of lying-in, under penalty of a fine of thirty ducats. Midwives who failed to notify a birth with the name and address of the

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 32, c. 92.
[2] Casola, op. cit., pp. 107, 110.

father within three days of the event were liable to a fine of ten ducats. The notary of the sumptuary office was authorized to issue a warrant to visit the house, and more especially the bedroom, where the woman was lying in; and if any opposition were offered the fine was one hundred ducats for nobles or citizens, prison, outlawry, or the galleys for the people.[1] The mother rarely suckled her own child,[2] and wet nurses were sought for, especially in Friuli, where they were sound and healthy. On the day of the christening the nurses decked the infant out with ornaments, wrapped it in swaddling clothes fringed with lace, and carried it to the "mother"[3] church (*chiesa matrice*) on a tray or under a magnificent canopy.[4] By a decree of the Council of Ten (August 31, 1506), the parish priests were bound, under pain of perpetual banishment, to declare, within three days of the ceremony, the baptism of a nobly born child,[5] and on March 24, 1503, the Patriarch ordered the names of all who were baptized to be entered in the parish registers.[6] The godfathers, who in some cases numbered as many as a hundred and fifty, whereas custom required three only, were for the most part dependants and clients of the family; for, while it was permitted to the patricians to act as groomsmen to each other, a decree of the Ten (August 9, 1505) forbade nobles to accept the duties of godfather to the offspring of other nobles, in order that this bond, which constituted a kind of spiritual relationship, might not eventually present

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 29, c. 180, December 7, 1537, and Reg. 44, c. 59.

[2] Lando, Ortensio, *Lettere di molte valorose donne*, discusses pregnancy, parturition, suckling, and such topics.

[3] In the earliest days there was only one baptismal font in Venice, and that was in the Cathedral; but when the city began to grow, other baptisteries were opened in different churches, called, therefore, *baptesimales*, or, in the vulgar, *matrici*. Gallicciolli, II, 342.

[4] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 41, c. 59, October 15, 1562.

[5] Sanudo, *Diarf*, VI, 406. [6] Gallicciolli, II, 383.

difficulties in the way of marriages between the noble houses so connected. That was the pretext; but more probably the true motive was to prevent an ambitious patrician from forming those wide and close connections among his peers which were always an object of suspicion to the State.[1]

This legislation, which compelled the noble to seek godfathers for his children from among the people, formed a most beneficent bond between the two classes, and removed, at least in the spiritual region, the excessive differences of the social status. These differences were particularly apparent in the sad or joyful events of family life, marriages, births, and deaths, where the absence of wealth, luxury, and aristocratic hauteur gave a greater simplicity and genuineness to those functions among the lower classes. But the intimate life of the people, at the period under discussion, is involved in shadow no less than the domestic life of the nobility. We may, in part, recover it with the help of documents, traditions, popular songs, proverbs, legends, which preserve customs not yet died out, but which certainly belong to a far earlier period. Language changes and customs vary, but the people always preserved intact certain instincts and prejudices and certain rites and symbols handed down from generation to generation. Many proverbs and popular songs have come down to our own day, and if the diction is not absolutely antique, the thought, feeling, movement, and very often the versification, certainly are.[2] Under the form of the language, which was gradually modernised from age to age, we can still discover the thread of ideas which bound the popular customs of a remote age to the customs perhaps of to-day, undoubtedly to the customs of the period we are now discussing. The tales, fables, legends, proverbs, and poetry, which to-day

[1] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 402. Gallicciolli, II, 380.

[2] Dalmedico, *Canti del popolo ven.* Venezia, 1857. Bernoni, *Canti pop.* Venezia, 1872, 1873. Pasqualigo, *Proverbi Veneziani.* Treviso, 1882.

surround the nuptial couch, the cradle, and the grave, come back to us like the echo of a nation's youth which declares itself in the vigorous directness of its song. We gather the scattered members of the past and collect the notes which in the old days rose from the humble houses and byways of Castello and of Cannaregio.[1] The people expressed its emotions in its songs, more especially the emotions inspired by love, the wife, and the children. Love usually began in the church[2]; then the girl, having got her lover, had him following her at public *fêtes* and at the parish functions (*sagre*). Sailors, arsenal hands, mechanics of a hundred different crafts, handsome, vigorous, virile figures, would go to pay their court, dressed out in broadcloth or velvet, combed and perfumed, each with his dagger (*cinquedea*) at his girdle.[3] The first declaration of love was made

[1] D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*, pp. 205 et seq. Livorno, 1906. The author observes that the song in the *Marescalco* of Aretino:

Cara madre maridemi
Che non posso più durar

is a common song of maidens impatient of their maidenhood. One common form of popular poetry takes the shape of question and answer; we have an example in this recent version of a Venetian song of baptism:

Indove 'l batizemo?
In ciesa a San Martin.
Che nome ghe metemo?
Costante, Costantin.
E chi sarà el compare?
Bernardo, Bernardin.

[2] Ancùo xe sabo e me ralegro el cuore;
Doman xe festa e vedo lo mio amore,
Se no a la prima messa, a la seconda
Quela cantada che sarà più longa.

[3] Caravia, in his *Naspo bizaro*, thus describes an arsenal hand in his Sunday best:

Quando che un Castelan xe inamorao
Et se ne va su la gamba pulio,
Co la so miecra e rizzi petenao,
De pano fin e de ueluo vestio,
Co la so cinquedea perfumegao,
Che 'l sa da bon a la lontana un mio,
Tanto galante, ch'el no par de queli,
Che dopra in Arsenal dala e scarpeli.

by singing under the fair one's window. After a while the young man made his formal request to the parents, and if he were accepted both families met at dinner. The lover gave the girl the betrothal ring of gold. Then followed an exchange of presents between the pair; the girl gave her betrothed silk neckties or embroidered handkerchiefs, while he brought her a bun at Easter, almond cake and preserves (*mostarda*) at Christmas, chestnuts at Martinmas, and a rosebud on Saint Mark's day.[1] As is common among most people of Italy, it was the custom to taboo presents which might be of bad omen, such as combs, which might assist in witchcraft; images of saints, which were supposed to engender quarrels; scissors, which signified calumny and backbiting; pins, which implied something pungent and painful.[2] The groomsman chosen by the bridegroom sent a present of jewelry and a box of bonbons along with a bouquet of artificial flowers for the bride, and twelve bottles of malaga, cyprus, and rosolio to be served at the banquet. Besides this it was his duty to tip the sacristan and to present four wax candles to the church where the wedding took place. Sunday was the usual day.[3] The bride was dressed in her best, with fine white collar and gold chains called *manini*, and petticoat of brilliant colours,[4] lace cuffs, and apron worked in gold, pleated bodice, white stockings, and embroidered slippers. "Dopo pareciada," so run the instructions in touching directness of the dialect, "e avanti che riva el sposo, la sposa va in camera de so pare, e là la se ghe

[1] Bernoni, *Trad. pop.*, Punt. IV. Venezia, 1877.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Red was the favourite, and we find frequent reference to it in popular songs:

Moroso belo, da le feste semo;
De che color s'avemo da vestire?
Véstite pur de rosso anema mia
El xe el megio color che al mondo sia.

buta in zenocion, e, pianzando la ghe dixe che el ghe perdona se la ga fatto qualcosa, e la ghe domanda la so benedizion. Questo xe un giorno che la sposa pianze e ride."[1] Then, accompanied by her relations, the bride proceeded to church, and after the ceremony was over, they all returned to her house, where the refection took place and then towards sundown the banquet, at the close of which the bride and the *compare* opened the dance. Caravia, in his *Naspo Bizaro*, gives us an account of the rich food and the noisy dance. *Naspo*, after trotting many times a day between his house at Castello and the Biri where his *Cate* lived, tormented by love and jealousy, in the hope of closing his days *da Christian batizao*, ends by wedding *con allegrezza* his pretty *biriota:*

> Fa conzar, Cate, in ordene la corte,
> Che luni, o marti te uorò sposar,
> E con bon chiuchio (with good wine), rosti, lessi e torte
> Aliegramente la faremo andar;
> Vorò, che sempre stia auerte le porte,
> Che chi uorà tuti vegna a balar,
> Con soni, e canti, e 'l stibio sempre a torno
> Tuta la note infin l'alba del zorno.

In the midst of this revelry *Naspo* never gives a thought to the future nor to the disillusionment which matrimony sometimes has in reserve,[2] though even in those days it was usual to invoke the blessing of Heaven and the favours of fortune in hundreds of different supplications and formularies of love. Above the marriage bed they either painted an angel or hung one carved in wood, that the children about to be born might resemble them, it being an old belief that the woman would give birth to children resembling the person or picture she had seen most frequently during

[1] Bernoni, *Trad. pop.*

[2] *Naspo Bizaro con la Zonta del lamento che 'l fa per haverse pentio de haver sposao Cate Bionda Biriota.* Venetia, 1601. In the *Sogno* (Venezia, 1541) another poem of Caravia's, he also expresses the infelicity of conjugal life.

A Wedding among the Common People — a cut from the poem, "Naspo Bizaro," by Alessandro Caravia, 1565

pregnancy.[1] The couple were never to sleep in separate beds or rooms, so that perfect harmony might be maintained; friendly relations with the parents on both sides must be preserved under pain of unhappy childbed. Images of saints, medals, and scapularies were fastened to the swaddling clothes of infants when being carried to their baptism[2] in order to ward off demons and witches. The growth of the babe was surrounded by blessings and exorcisms: its nails were not to be cut, else the child would grow up to be a thief; the length or shortness of the ears foretold the duration of life; the ears, even of the boys, were often pierced, not so much for the adornment of ear-rings as to prevent convulsions.[3] Mothers crooned over the cradle the softest of lullabies. The father on his return from work was greeted by wife and children, and found the table laid, and after the meal was over the family gathered together to play games or to listen to fables or legends.[4]

Art is of little help to us in picturing the Venetian family, whether in the patrician or the lower classes. Venetian painters were attracted by the outdoor life of the city rather than by the quiet round of daily routine in the home. They lack the sentiment of repose, and find little satisfaction in placidity; they feel themselves called upon to depict rather the deeds of saints and heroes, in the open air, under a dazzling sun that flames upon the crimson standard with the golden lion, flashes on cuirass and sword, glints on stuffs of satin or brocade.

[1] Bernoni, *Credenze popolari Veneziane*. Venezia, 1874. De Gubernatis, *St. comp. degli usi natalizii in It.*, pp. 40, 41. Milano, 1878.

[2] In the case of offspring in bourgeois or plebeian families the *Esecutori contro la bestemia* required the parish priests to register among the legitimate births only those about whom they were sure. In cases of doubt they were to call for the marriage certificate. This rule, however, was broken; adulterous offspring being sometimes entered as children of wedded couples. Cecchetti, *La rep. di Venezia e la Corte di Roma*, I, 55.

[3] Bernoni, *Cred. pop.*

[4] Venetian popular literature is rich in such productions. See Bernoni's collections.

Some whole families are represented in the pomp of their gala costume, — the Pesaro, for instance, by Titian; the Pisani by Veronese, who also painted the citizen family of Coccina; they are kneeling at the feet of some saint or some conqueror of old, but are never represented in the intimacy of the house. The Bergamasque painters alone, especially Cariani and Licinio, give us family groups, properly so called, but they are not Venetian families, any more than is that family group painted by Lotto. In the Venetian masters it is their Madonnas or their sacred groups seated in the shade of groves that better serve to introduce us to the poetry of the home life. For example, there is the family group, so realistic in treatment, in a picture attributed, on excellent grounds, to Carpaccio and now in the Staedel Institute at Frankfort. The figures represent the Virgin, the Child, and St. John. The divine babe of the early prayer books has become a child in Quattrocento dress; he is seated, and is turning the leaves of an illuminated book, while another child in the same costume is pointing with his finger to the page. These two chubby children are, possibly, the sons of the unknown person who ordered the picture, and very likely a portrait of their mother is to be recognized in the Madonna, who stands looking on with folded hands in grave and serious attitude. We may also note a family of the people in a Holy Family by Catena, where we have the father, the mother, and the doting grandmother gathered round the child, nor has the painter in his patient care omitted to introduce the baby's go-cart.

The writers of this epoch, as a rule, pay no more attention than the painters to the description of intimate family felicity. But there is one exception. Calmo, a son of the people, introduces us to the innermost sanctuary of an honest Venetian household. He dwells with pleasure on *el star pacifico* with a *muier da ben* who

is without *fiel in corpo* or *lengua in boca, bona massera, fadighente e ben accostumà;* no quarrels, no *criori*, no *biasteme*, no *zelosie*. When the wife hears the husband's whistle, she runs to meet him, crying, *sieu el ben vegnuo*, and helps him off with his clothes. Dinner is ready *con certi saoreti, d'instae garbi, d'inverno dolci;* and after dinner she puts his head in her lap, and the two enjoy *el più soave soneto, che possa mai far poeta in lengua volgar*. "Andemo in leto," continues this jovial writer, "si lievo a bon'ora, subito la lieva in pie . . . Si l'è d'instae soto la nostra pergola se consa el desco; si l'è d'inverno intel nostro camerin apresso la cusina, che par una stua, col so vin caldo, el pan in bruo, con un bozzolao forte infra tutti do, un puoco de rosteto, i so maroni e peri coti daspuo pasto: e man a rasonamenti piasevoli, tignandose 'l brazzo al colo e tal fiae el nostro baseto . . . Ogni sera la revede i colari de le mie camise e repezza le scarpete; ogni sabo la me scurta i caveli, la me tagia le ongie e si me lava i pie, la tempera el vin intel arnaso, la fa de le fugazze de semolei per la fantesca e compartisse el companadego per el disnar e per la cena . . ."[1]

But *poichè a sto mondo no ghe vol nissun de contento*, when death entered the dwellings of the people, the whole house was filled with wailing and loud lamentations. Death, no less than love, was the subject of superstitious prognostications. If the bell that accompanied the viaticum was cracked, or if it rained while the priest was crossing the threshold, then all hope for the sufferer was at an end. On the other hand, if rain fell on the bier of the departed, that was a hopeful sign for the welfare of the soul; it was also propitious to die on a Saturday.[2] Popular fancy was full of stories of apparitions of the dead. The Venetian temperament in high and low, rich and poor alike,

[1] Calmo, *Lettere*, cit., pp. 237, 289, 290.
[2] Bernoni, *Credenze popolari*.

shrank from the idea of death as from something harsh and bitter. Not that we cannot record many a Venetian who calmly awaited the supreme hour of a well-spent day, as though it were *da transitare d'una in altra casa*, in the phrase of Alvise Cornaro, who died with a hymn of Bembo's[1] on his lips; but it was only natural that a people which felt so acutely the thrill of a healthy life full of enjoyment should shrink from the darkness of the tomb. In the memorials of this age we may find some soldier who had proved his courage on the field of battle, some statesman of weight in council, bowing their heads in despair under the oppression of adverse fortune and dying of a broken heart; but instances of suicide are not to be met, and if by chance some sick soul feels itself unequal to the burden of life the desperate resolve takes the appearance of insanity grotesque even in its very horror. For example, that strange suicide of Lorenzo Priuli, young, gentle, cultured, dear to Pope Leo X, who, finding himself in Rome, was attacked by a suicidal mania; he threw himself into the river, but was saved; then, eluding the vigilance of his custodians, he cut his throat with a dagger, but careful nursing brought him round; finally one day, when to all appearance he was cured both in mind and body, he jumped from a high window, breaking his bones but failing again to kill himself; he was picked up, and once more the doctors would have succeeded in saving him, only he refused all food and died of starvation.[2] If the story were not confirmed on excellent authority, we should be inclined to take it as an invention intended to ridicule those who reject the blessing of life.

The profound melancholy of death finds no expression even in Venetian poetry, and the sonneteers and lyrists who mourn their departed parents or friends

[1] *La Vita Sobria*, cit., Pref., p. xliv.
[2] Valeriani, *De litteratorum infelicitate*, p. 45. Venetiis, 1620.

produce little else save exercises in style. Even Bembo, who was so deeply attached to his friends and is so sincere and frank in his letters, is sonorous and stately, it is true, but cold and hollow, when mourning the departed in verse. In 1504, when his brother Carlo, whom he tenderly loved, was taken from him, the grief of the poet is often diluted by empty generalisations:

O disavventurosa acerba sorte!
O dispietata intempestiva morte!
O mie cangiate e dolorose tempre!
Qual fu già, lasso, e qual ora è 'l mio stato?

Nor does Celio Magno, though one of the best Venetian poets, succeed in giving expression to the intense grief he undoubtedly felt for the death of his father, in a lyric which lacks the genuine cry and is spun out with otiose and far-fetched images and conceits that never succeed in touching the heart.

Sorgi da l'onde fuor pallido e mesto,
Faccia prendendo al mio dolor simile,
Pietoso Febo, e meco a piangere riedi.
Questo è 'l dì ch'a rapir l'alma gentile
Del mio buon padre, oimè, fu 'l ciel sì presto.

So Magno opens, though he proceeds in happier vein; other poets begin and end worse, and seem to be competing with the sonorous hyperboles of set funeral orations. In the midst of all this blatant bombast which surrounds the tomb, we are arrested by one sincere note of sorrow, Domizio Brocardi's lament for his wife and children; the Paduan poet's rough verses convey a genuine cry of the heart, more especially when he is bewailing his beloved daughter Gigliola:

Quel giglio ch' era il fior della mia vita
È un vivo sole a tutto l'universo
Colto da morte è languido e disperso
Che accresce al viver mio doglia infinita.[1]

[1] D'Ancona, *Nel primo anniversario della morte di Giulia d'Ancona.* Pisa, 1899.

Nor are the last hours preceding decease, and all the agony that gathers the family about the death-bed, adequately represented by painters of the day, though their opportunities were superior to those of the poets. That grief which bows the head and breaks forth in wailing among the pious folk who surround the dead Christ or dying Virgin assumes the aspects of horror and of agonised despair in the masters of the Quattrocento such as Crivelli, Giambellino, and Carpaccio, but in the artists of the full-blown Renaissance the spectacle of death does not evoke terror or amazement or extreme despair, and before the tragedy of Golgotha itself we find the women expressing the emotion of pity, the men quiet dignity, but all in studied poses as though upon the stage. None of these light-hearted transcribers of the daily life of Venice has ventured to introduce us to the interior of a household, to allow us to assist at the last moments of a beloved life with its attendant agony. Among all the pictorial representations of this age we can recall but one rude illumination which takes us to the threshold of the chamber where the viaticum is being administered by a priest, while other priests with lighted candles assist at this supreme rite, either kneeling or on foot, and three women are wailing in a corner of the room. The miniature is in the *mariegola* of the Confraternity of the Body of Christ; it is dated 1503, and was brought from the church of San Cassiano to the Museo Civico.

When death had supervened and the body was to be carried to the tomb, the grief which hitherto had been confined within the domestic walls now broke out in clamour in the street and even in the church. The dark and gloomy funeral rites of the Middle Ages had disappeared, and, as time went on, funerals, as Sansovino says, had become so splendid that *nulla si potea veder di più magnifico*. And, in fact, a funeral assumed the aspect of a festival rather than of mourning. The bells

DETAIL of Carpaccio's painting "The Burial of Sant' Orsola." (Venice, Academy)

Photo by Alinari

were tolled for the death of a citizen, but were pealed when a patrician or other great personage passed away. If a shop-keeper departed this life, his shop was shut; and it would seem that as early as the sixteenth century it became the custom to affix to the door a notice "per la morte del padrone." At the same time the official death registers were established in the office of the Board of Health.[1] On the day of the funeral of a patrician all the shops were shut; the whole palace was placed in mourning; the walls were hung with black cloth and great curtains of black velvet with gold fringes. The body, either enclosed in a coffin or laid on a bier, was carried to the church, which was hung in black; in the middle was a catafalque, covered with black and gold, bearing the arms of San Marco and of the deceased's family.[2] The enormous cortege which preceded and followed the bier passed by San Marco and Rialto before entering the church which held the family tomb. The procession was headed by the various guilds with their hundreds of standards and pennons, the brethren, in tunics of red, blue, and white, bearing enormous gilded candles, painted in figures and flowers. Then came the Capitular canons chanting psalms, and the rest of the clergy; then the coffin, surrounded by sailors and domestics in mourning with candles in their hands. Behind the coffin walked the Grand Chancellor, the Ambassadors, the Procuratori, magistrates, and patricians, led, on some occasions, by the Doge in person, dressed in crimson velvet; lastly, a great crowd of the people. At the church, when the religious ceremony was over, an orator, chosen from among the most notable scholars of the day, mounted

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 531, 680.

[2] "In questa mattina (November 23, 1511) vidi in chiexia di Sant' Anzolo uno soler fatto in chiexia molto degno come a doxe, dove era il corpo di sier Alexandro Bolani . . . e a torno erano telle negre, et cussì torniata la chiexia con arme bolane, et poi il baldachin della Scuola." Sanudo, XIII, 263.

a platform hung with black cloth and pronounced the funeral oration. Among the crowd in the streets and in the church, crouching low to the ground and dodging between the legs of the people, a strange figure glided here and there; this was the *cerone*. Carpaccio has preserved a record of him in his pictures, and the name is to be found in ancient documents; the creature was so called because his business was to gather the drippings of the wax candles, which he stored in a sack hung round his neck. But the priests themselves were more avaricious than the *cerone*, and we often hear of disputes arising over the burial fees. In fact, fierce struggles raged round the death dues, *decime funebri*, which in ancient days really represented a tithe of the deceased's property which went to the Church; these tithes were commuted, in later times, for a certain definite sum, sometimes of trifling amount. In the sixteenth century the tithes were replaced by a regular contract between the clergy and the heirs of the defunct, but this did not put an end to disputes among the clergy of the various churches for the right of the stole and for funeral dues. Quarrels took place even over the division of the wax, and learned treatises were written on the subject such as Don Mario Vidal's[1] *Certamen pacificum*, published in 1682. The funerals of the Doge, the Dogaressa, the Procurators, and the Grand Chancellor, differed in no way from the funerals of patricians except in additional pomp. The moment a Doge had breathed his last, his majordomo, dressed in mourning and followed by the chaplain and the household clergy, went straight to the Cabinet to announce the event to the Senior Councillor or to the Vice-Doge and to the other members of the Ducal Council. They thereupon gave solemn notification to the provinces and subject lands that the Prince had deceased. The following day the body of the Doge was taken to the

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 536.

private audience chamber, either enclosed in a coffin or lying on a carpet, surrounded by candles. Towards evening the canons of San Marco and the Doge's chaplain imparted the benediction to the corpse, and it was conveyed to the church where it was to be buried. Meanwhile, in the Chamber of the Piovego, where the Doge received congratulations on the day of his coronation, a great platform covered in crimson velvet with the arms of San Marco had been erected, and on it was laid out a wax image of the dead Doge dressed in his State robes, the golden mantle, the ducal bonnet, spurs, and gilded sword.[1] Priests, patricians, and Senators kept vigil around it for three days, and on the third the bier was carried in long and slow procession round the Piazza di San Marco and then to SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where the obsequies were closed.[2] Senators attended a ducal funeral in their red robes, not in mourning, as though to emphasise the fact that the mourning was private and personal, and that although the Doge were dead the Republic would go on forever. The transitoriness of human greatness was impressed upon the Doge on the day of his election, and warnings to remember his death were calculated to moderate his satisfaction in his new honours and at the same time to check personal ambitions, which the State always feared. So, too, the Dogaressa, who entered the Palace amid joyous acclaim, was welcomed by the magistrates with these rude words: "Vostra Serenità si come vive è venuta in questo locho a tuor il possesso del palazzo, così vi fo intender et sapere che quando sarete morta vi saranno cavate le cervelle, li occhi, et le budelle, et sarete portata in questo loco medesimo dove che per tre giorni haverete a stare avanti che siate sepolta." If the Dogaressa died during her husband's lifetime, she received the most magnificent funeral.

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniali*, II, 2, 5, 24.
[2] Contarini, P., *Argo*, cit., Lib. II.

The earliest funeral of a Dogaressa of which we have record is that of Taddea Michiel (d. October 23, 1479), wife of Giovanni Mocenigo, who was accompanied to the tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo by all the congregations of regulars, by the chapters of San Pietro and of San Marco, by the Guilds, the Signory, the Ambassadors, patricians, and people.[1] Caterina Cornaro, another Venetian lady who had worthily won a crown, likewise received notable obsequies. She died on July 10, 1510, *de doja di stomacho*, as Sanudo informs us, and her body, in the humble habit of the order of Saint Francis, was carried from her palace at San Cassian, accompanied, notwithstanding the *tempo teribelissimo di vento pioza e tempesta*, by the Signory, the Vice Doge, the Patriarch, and several bishops, by her relations and by the people, as far as the church of the Santi Apostoli.[2] There it lay till 1570, when the church was restored and the queen's ashes were removed to San Salvatore, where they were inhumed, and on the wall above them was placed a monument by Bernardino Contino, as wretched as it is ornate.

But funeral honours were not reserved solely for those who by privilege of birth had been enabled to serve their country, they were extended to those also who had conferred honour on her by their genius. Even the necessary sanitary precautions did not prevent the State from granting solemn obsequies to Titian, when, in 1576, he died of the plague then raging in Venice. The law which forbade funeral honours to be paid to those who had fallen victims to the terrible malady, and which had insisted on the sepulture of the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo — who succumbed to the scourge in 1495, — without any ceremony whatsoever, made an exception in favour of the great

[1] Rossi, *Leggi e Costumi.*, MS. Marciana, XII, 130.

[2] Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro*, p. 151. Venezia, 1892. See also the notes by Fietta on Simonsfeld's work (*Arch. Ven.*, XXI, 51, 78).

master, and permitted his body to be carried to the Frari, wearing the insignia of Imperial Knighthood, and to be interred at the foot of the altar of the Cross.[1] Ambassadors were buried at the public expense; we have an example in the case of the Cremonese Giambattista Sfondrati, envoy of Lodovico il Moro, who died at Venice in September of 1497; the Republic decreed him a funeral of the same character as had been given to another ambassador of the Duke, Scarampo Scarampi, who also had died in Venice in 1485. The body of Sfondrati was taken from Casa Contarini at San Moisè to the church, followed by the magistrates, ambassadors, great personages, and by the Doge himself *vestido di veludo cremexin con una bareta di raso in capo*.[2] The funeral oration was delivered by Raffaele Regio, professor of rhetoric in the University of Padua. François de Rossi, a native of Brittany and ambassador of Francis I, in Venice, appeared for his first audience, in April, 1520, dressed in *raxo negro fino in terra*. The Doge and the Signoria judged him to be *leziero e colerico*, though he was undoubtedly of a frank disposition and a lively wit. He had studied at Bologna and Padua, and was attached to Italy and especially to Venice. In his residence in Casa Dandolo at San Moisè on July 7, 1526, he gave a splendid entertainment to celebrate the election of the Doge Antonio Grimani. During his sojourn in the lagoons he had the sad duty of burying that brave French

[1] Cavalcaselle, in his *Vita di Tiziano* (II, 40), remarks that no one took any trouble about Perugino and Ghirlandajo when they died. "Ma per il Cadorino," he says, "verso il quale i veneziani nudrivano grandissimo affetto e venerazione, la cosa fu diversa e malgrado dei tempi tanto calamitosi, per lui si fece una derogazione alle leggi sanitarie, la quale forse non si sarebbe fatta per il primo Magistrato della Repubblica." Gronau, however, in his *Vita di Tiziano*, referring to Ridolfi, as indeed does Cavalcaselle, tells us that Titian *fu bensì seppellito nel modo più conveniente che permise quel tempo*, but his solemn obsequies were deferred to a more favourable occasion and never took place at all owing to dissensions among the artists.

[2] Sanudo, *Diari*, I, 782–790.

soldier, de Chialus, who was murdered in June, 1520, by some peasants of Oriago.[1] A little more than a year later de Rossi himself died of *mal franzoso*, and was publicly buried *con honor grandissimo*. Sanudo has left us a detailed description of the ceremony, and adds that it cost 163 ducats, 20, 19, and that the oration was delivered by Vettor Fausto.[2] Another Frenchman, one of the most conspicuous political personages of the reign of Henry II, Cardinal Bertrandi, was on his way through Venice, in 1560, when death overtook him. Before sepulture in the church of Santo Stefano, the State accorded him a magnificent funeral, details of which are preserved in a letter written from Venice to the family of the Cardinal.[3] These public honours offered to the dead served the double purpose of assisting the State in its relations with foreign powers and of impressing upon its own citizens that the Republic would reward devotion, both in life and death, as surely as it would mete out vengeance upon infidelity. Bartolomeo Alviano was a general upon whose operations fortune seldom smiled; his victories in Friuli and Cadore were quite inadequate to counterbalance the crushing blow at Ghiaradadda, which was due largely to his impetuosity coupled with the excessive caution of the general in supreme command, the Count of Pitigliano. Yet the Republic never ceased to encourage Alviano to affront his adverse fortune, and when, on October 7, 1515, while still fighting under the banner of San Marco, a mortal sickness struck him down, his body was embalmed, brought to Venice, and buried in Santo Stefano, after a magnificent funeral at which Andrea Navagero delivered the oration.

In the case of private persons the funeral ceremonies

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 387.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXII, 37, 45, 59.
[3] Auvray, *Les funérailles du Cardinal Bertrandi à Venise* (*Rev. d'hist. dip.* Paris, juillet, 1900).

were arranged either by the family or in accordance with the will of the deceased. Venetian wills are full of instructions, not merely as regards bequests and masses for repose of the soul, but also as to funeral and sepulture. Sometimes the deceased desires his body to be sumptuously dressed, sometimes to be wrapped in the habit of a monk; the coffin is to be quite plain or it is to be adorned with the family arms and devices. The will of the physician Tomaso Rangone, of Ravenna, displays the vanity of the man and of his times. He desired to be followed by a large cortege, which, before arriving at the church of San Giuliano, the place of sepulture, is to pass through many streets, to the pealing of bells. One pompous funeral oration was not enough, he must have three to blazon his achievements. It came to be the custom to render honours to scholars in a special manner, — the bier of a lawyer, for example, would be surrounded by copies of the Code and the Digest; a physician's coffin would be piled with the works of Hippocrates and Galen.[1] The coffin of Aldus Manutius lay in the church of San Paternian *con libri attorno*.[2] Rangone desired that not only the books he had written, open at certain pages he indicated, should be borne after his coffin, but that many precious ornaments of his house and a model of the church of San Giuliano, which he had in large part restored, should follow him to the grave. He even determined the number of rings they were to put upon his fingers, and what clothes his librarian was to wear when preceding the coffin to the church.[3] Still stranger is the will of Pietro Bernardo (d. 1538). He desired that his body should be washed in vinegar and scented with musk and then placed in a great leaden coffin filled with aromatic herbs; this

[1] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 616.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XIX, 425.
[3] Tassini, *Curiosità Ven.*, p. 342.

again was to be enclosed in an outer coffin of cypress wood, covered with pitch. The bizarre patrician further provided that on his marble tomb, which was to cost six hundred ducats, there should be carved eight hexameters describing his achievements. The verses were to be legible at a distance of twenty-five feet, and the poet was to receive one sequin for each couple of verses. His effigy twenty-five feet off was to give the impression of a man of great stature. He left a bequest to the writer of a poem of eight hundred verses in honour of the Bernardo family, and another to the twenty friars who on the first Sunday of every month should recite psalms and prayers before his urn. Not all of these quaint provisions were carried out, but Bernardo's tomb, of exquisite grace, by an unknown Lombardesque artist, was erected in the church of the Frari.[1]

In the midst of all this pomp and ceremony which excluded the possibility of genuine feeling, Sanudo has left us one scene of heartfelt grief which is far more touching and convincing than all the elegiacs of the poets, the eulogies of orators, the epitaphs dictated by empty rhetoricians.[2] Pantasilea Baglioni, widow of Alviano, finding herself in straitened circumstances, presented herself in mourning before the Signory, with a babe but a few months old, *vestito di nero con saio*, and three little girls at her skirts. Amid tears and sighs she threw herself on the Doge's generosity, and all present were touched to the heart.[3] His Serenity

[1] On the beautiful tomb are the three figures of Christ, Saint Peter, and the deceased kneeling. The verses Bernardo ordered are wanting, but an inscription placed on the tomb thirty years after his death, by his sons Girolamo and Lorenzo, would lead us to suppose that the monument was erected during Bernardo's lifetime, — *Sibi vivens fecit*.

[2] The following epitaph in the vulgar tongue, quoted by Moschini (*Guida di Murano*, p. 129, Venezia, 1808) is worth all the sonorous Latin of the ordinary inscriptions: "Andrea Boldù Senator Integer | sapi che io fui chome ti | e che tornerai chome mi | e tu prega per mi | M D die V luio."

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXI, 240.

spoke words of comfort, and the Republic made ample provision for the widow and her orphan children.[1] But as a rule patrician dignity forbade outbursts of grief. It was the custom that on the day following the funeral the relations of the deceased should assemble in the courtyard of the palace or under the porticoes at Rialto, to receive condolences from friends, to which they made no reply, but merely shook hands. Mourning was worn for a fixed number of days, according to the nearness of relationship. The *corrotto*, or mourning robe, was a black cloak, or scarlet in the case of magistrates, with a long train.[2] The ancient custom of allowing the beard to grow in sign of grief was not entirely extinct.[3] But fashions changed even in mourning, which occasionally assumed a certain coquetry. For instance, we hear of a lady of the Emo family who went to an entertainment "con una vestura di restagno d'oro e di sopra frisato negro per corrotto, taiada che si vedeva l'oro."[4] The government itself, in its desire not to ruin the joyous aspect of the city on certain great occasions, prescribed coloured dresses for everybody *etiam quelli che hanno corrotto*.

The external and vainglorious pomp of Venetian funerals demanded a like quality in the tombs and epitaphs which were to hand down to posterity the gifts and the virtues of the deceased. In many wills we find the testator ordering a *monumentum marmoreum cum collumnis marmoreis*.[5] The honours of a monument

[1] They assigned her sixty ducats a month, a comfortable house in the city, and granted her exemption from octroi. They also provided a dower of three thousand ducats for the three girls, Portia, Lucretia, and Isabella, on their marriage. Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, V, 308.

[2] "A di 18 febbraio, 1533, il Serenissimo vene in Collegio per la morte di la sorella di suo padre . . . vestito con un mantello di scarlatto." Sanudo, *Diarî*, LVII, 526, 527.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VII, 504. And again in the *Cronachetta*, p. 34, he writes: "Et quando [i patrizi] hanno corrotto portano barba certo tempo, per padre tre anni, per madre doi anni, per fradello un anno."

[4] Id., *Diarî*, XIX, 443.

[5] Cecchetti, *Fun. e sep. dei Ven. ant.* (*Arch. Veneto*, XXXIV, 265).

in church, which in the early days used to be reserved for persons of real distinction, became common at the period of which we are speaking. The cemeteries[1] round the churches were abandoned to the common folk, while persons of birth sought sepulture inside the church. Family pride, which endeavoured to create or to enhance the glory of the house, even with the help of the dead, is severely condemned by a contemporary in the following words: "Ma vorrei bene, che conoscendosi i marmi, i bronzi, gli ori, gli intagli, i grandi epitafi, et le statue; onde si fabbricano et adornano le sepolture a morti inutili; la spesa, che in queste vane pompe, et pegni della nostra superbia, si consuma, s'impiegasse utilmente nelle opere della carità . . . Vera limosina è sovvenire alle vedove, a miseri orfani, a gli spedali, et ove il bisogno apparisce maggiore: et non in lasciar le grosse entrate a ricchi conventi, perchè si faccia al nostro corpo un sontuoso sepolcro, o una cappella in nostra memoria con le insegne della famiglia . . . Ma che dirò io d'alcune vedove: le quali per più superbamente ornar di sepoltura il corpo del morto marito, prettermettono di soddisfare a debiti che egli vivendo haveva contratti?"[2] But wise counsel proved of no avail. The very restrictions imposed by the Patriarch Girolamo Quirini, on October 28, 1538, who wished to limit sepulture in the churches to prelates, men of saintly lives or of great civic worth or of the noblest blood, produced the very opposite effect, for the decree contained the phrase "or those *habentes sepolturas proprias in Ecclesia*,"[3] and from this period onwards the churches and sacristies were

[1] Several of these cemeteries were removed because they obstructed the city; for example, the cemetery of SS. Filippo e Giacomo in 1465. Others were abandoned after the burial of many plague-stricken victims. The cemetery of those who had been executed was at San Zaccaria (Gallicciolli, II, 413).

[2] Dolce, *Della institution della donna*, p. 72.

[3] Gallicciolli, II, 146.

encumbered with tombs, statues, busts, memorials, inscriptions. Among these numerous sepulchres of the unknown dead the gorgeous mausoleums of the patricians stand up to tell us of their greatness. The image of the deceased, which on mediæval tombs was always represented recumbent in the rigidity of death, begins, in the Renaissance, to be surrounded with all the symbols which indicate life; the effigy is either standing upright or kneeling in prayer as though the person represented were still in the land of the living. The monument of Vettor Cappello, the brave soldier who died in Negropont, in 1467, of heartbreak at his defeat by the Turks at Patras,[1] is represented, on his sepulchral monument, as kneeling to receive the general's baton from Sant' Elena. Another general, Melchiorre Trevisan, was no more fortunate, and he too died broken-hearted at Cephalonia after a repulse by the Turks. His body was brought to Venice, and to the valorous but unfortunate soldier were conceded the honours of a tomb in the Frari. Vincenzo Cappello (d. 1541) was an able commander, and defeated the Turks at Risano; we see his monument by Domenico da Salò above the door of Santa Maria Formosa — the soldier stands firmly planted on his feet and holds in his hand his baton. Many of the monuments of Doges, generals, patricians, which adorn the churches of Venice, especially SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the Frari, have mythological figures, garlands, flowers, emblems which certainly have little to do with the sentiment of mourning. The mausoleum of the Doge Niccolò Tron, erected to his memory by Antonio Rizzo in the Frari, represents the Doge standing upright, full of vigour, surrounded by figures of women singing and playing, of warriors in bold relief, of charming children playing about among vases filled with fruit. In the same

[1] This defeat is supposed to have given rise to the phrase, *andare a Patrasso*, which means "to die." But the phrase is found also in Tuscany.

church, on the tomb of the Admiral Benedetto Pesaro we find the figures of Mars and Neptune, and on that of the Bishop Jacopo Pesaro two genii are leaning on two inverted torches. The Lombardesque monument of Pietro Mocenigo (d. 1476) at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, shows us the Doge on foot, supported by two genii, and a highly decorated urn, carried by three caryatids and flanked by figures of warriors and by reliefs representing two episodes in the myth of Hercules which are in strange contrast with the reliefs in the attic, representing Mary at the tomb. Fra Felix Faber saw this monument before it was quite finished, and expressed his amazement that side by side with symbols of the Redemption should be placed the records of paganism. So, too, in the monument to the Doge Andrea Vendramin (d. 1478), perhaps the most exquisite of all, the work of Alessandro Leopardi, the refined and delicate beauty of mediæval art joins hands with the florid splendour of the Renaissance. On the sarcophagus lies the recumbent figure of the Doge with the Theological Virtues about him; but the figure is repeated again in the lunette, where the Doge is kneeling before the Virgin. The architectural design is superb and of the purest style, and is adorned with friezes, medallions, cameos, eagles, sirens, and symbolical emblems in which the pagan spirit is triumphant though transformed by the taste of the epoch.[1]

The horse, which was hardly ever seen in the streets of Venice, adorns the upper gallery on the façade of Saint Mark's, in a way that is strangely pagan, and brings its restless vivacity into the very churches. Early Venice had but one out-of-doors equestrian statue, that of Colleoni; but in the Frari there was the monument to the Roman Paolo Savelli, a general

[1] When the monument was brought from the church of the Servites to SS. Giovanni e Paolo, two statues of Adam and Eve, by Tullio Lombardo, were removed, as lacking the severely religious quality and were substituted by two figures of Saints.

Monument in Honour of the Doge Andrea Vendramin, by Alessandro Leopardi. (Venice, Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo)

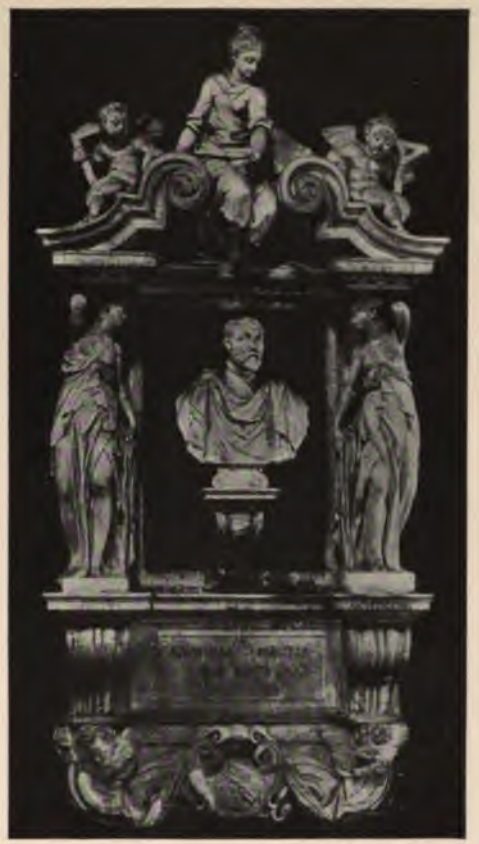
in the pay of the Republic, who fell in the wars of 1405 against the Carraresi; while along the inner walls of SS. Giovanni e Paolo stands a row of four splendid chargers, each with a mailed warrior on his back: first, Niccolò Orsini (d. 1509), commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces against the allies of Cambray; then Leonardo da Prato, who fell in the same wars in 1511; Pompeo Giustiniani, a Genoese, killed in battle against the Austrians in Friuli in 1616; and Orazio Baglioni, who fell a year later fighting the same foe. These monuments to Doges, magistrates, generals, which adorn the churches of Venice, display, in the excellence of their execution, the love of splendour and the pride of lineage.

But there are many other sepulchral monuments in Venice worthy of attention, not for their artistic merit, but for the memories they evoke. The tomb of Francesco Foscari (d. 1457), at the Frari, recalls a troubled period of Venetian history; that of his predecessor Tomaso Mocenigo (d. 1423), at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, brings to mind the grandeur, power, and empire of the Republic, while the monument to Andrea Gritti (d. 1538), in San Francesco della Vigna, evokes the memories of an epoch of splendour in art and in life. The urn of the heroic defender of Famagosta, Marcantonio Bragadin, who at the head of little more than seven thousand men held at bay more than two hundred thousand Turks, awakens the sentiment of admiration for duty and self-sacrifice. When surrender became inevitable, Bragadin was guaranteed his life, but by a shameful act of treachery he was flayed alive, and the hero expired, affirming his faith in God, from whom he awaited the reward of duty fulfilled towards both his country and his creed. His skin, pickled in vinegar and salt, made the round of the Levantine ports, hung from the yards of the enemy's ships, until it was recovered by Bragadin's descendants and placed in an

urn, which is remarkable, not for its artistic quality, but for the relic it contains. We see the growing exaggerations of the barroque style in the tomb of Paolo Paruta (d. 1598) in the church of the Spirito Santo. The redundance of the decoration but ill accords with the refined intelligence of the historian, whose life and writings were distinguished by reserve and repose, who had the rare gift to divine the universal laws which underlie the events of every-day life. The fame of many other distinguished Venetians was not intrusted to storied stones; for instance, Sebastiano Veniero chose as his last resting-place a modest grave in Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano. Nor were the sepulchres of many who by their art lent fresh glory to Venice, remarkable for splendour. Paolo Veronese closed his busy life in 1588, and his body lies in the church of San Sebastiano, resplendent with the creations of his genius, enshrined in an unpretentious sarcophagus which contrasts strangely with its emphatically worded inscription.[1] So, too, Alessandro Vittoria, fantastic as were the creations of his brain, designed for himself a modest tomb in San Zaccaria.[2] At the Madonna dell'Orto, where sleep the Ramusi and several of the Contarini, among them the great Cardinal Gaspare, a plain tomb in the pavement, belonging to Marco de Vescovi, father-in-law of Tintoretto, holds the bones of Jacopo and of his children Domenico and Marietta. Finally, many monuments have been rifled, destroyed, ruined, lost, and the ashes dispersed; for example, the bones which used to repose in the church of San Luca, of four men of letters, differing widely in their genius, — Pietro Aretino, Lodovico Dolce, Diogeni Atanagi, and Girolamo Ruscelli, — have all been scattered; we do not know what has become of the

[1] "Paolo Caliari Veronensi Pictori, naturae emulo, artis miraculo, superstiti fatis, famam victuro."

[2] The inscription runs: "Alexander Victoria, qui vivens vivo duxit e marmore vultus."



Sepulchral Monument of Alessandro Vittoria.
(Venice, Church of S. Zaccaria)

tomb of Cassandra Fedele, once in the church of San Domenico at Castello; not a stone is left of Sabellico's monument on the island of Santa Maria delle Grazie, nor of Leopardi's in the cloister of the Madonna dell'Orto, to mention only a few of the names which have occurred in the course of our history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS

A CIVILISATION which has carried refinement to too high a pitch almost always bears the imprint of vice. We cannot therefore be surprised if we find that in the heyday of her art and learning the corruption of manners spread wide and deep in Venice, and cast a sinister shadow over the peace, the prosperity, the security, the freedom, the brilliant art, and the joyous life of the city. Not that corruption bit deeper here than elsewhere in Italy and abroad. Francesco Sansovino even declares that Venice, however greedy of material pleasure, was less corrupt than most other States, "se bene in ogni tempo rifugio de i forestieri, i quali sogliono introdurre in casa altrui le usanze loro." This is, doubtless, too lenient a judgment, though it is certain that in the universal spread of corruption the population of Venice was not the most depraved, in spite of the facilities which the conditions of the city offered for debauchery. In this period, so full of glory and of shame, people of every conceivable condition mingled on the piazza and on the quay of San Marco, the rendezvous as it were of all the splendour, all the poverty, and all the vice of the world. But such lenient judgments as Sansovino's are counterbalanced by the stern condemnation expressed by that austere critic Alvise Cornaro, who, in 1558, lamented that there were "introdotti in Italia da non molto in qua, anzi alla mia etade, tre mali costumi: il primo è l'adulazione e la ceremonia; l'altro il viver secondo l'opiniono Luterana, che pur da alcuno

si pone a gran torto in uso; il terzo la crapula: i quali tre vizii, anzi mostri crudeli della vita umana, hanno tolto ai nostri tempi a deprimere la sincerità del vivere civile, la religione dell'anima e la sanità del corpo."[1] That son of the people, Andrea Calmo, as a *laudator temporis acti*, bewails the days of his youth, when "gieremo zeneralmente tutti angeli, riverenti el zovine al so mazor"; not in search of a wife with a large dower, *ruina delle case*, but a *zentil creatura nassua de bon sangue e che lavorasse benissimo de ago*. The youth of to-day is of very different kidney, "cavestri da forche, insolenti, lussuriosi, lenguaizi, fastidiosi, con puoche lettere e manco cervelo."[2] The merchant Martino Merlini is even more explicit; writing at the date of the league of Cambray, he says: "chonvegnimo rechognoserse davanti la miserichordia de Dio di nostri mensfati, chome xe el biastemar, la pocha justizia, e gran superbia, usure, ranpine, sodomie, e sacrilegi, in questa tera de questi tal pechadi puzava fin al ziello; bexogna mudar vezo a tute queste chose"[3]; and an anonymous satire adds:

> Ah povera Venetia! . . .
> Za tempo intata e verzene
> Per costumi laconichi . . .
> Adesso sporca femena.[4]

In burning phrases the clergy attacked the evils which infested the world. Bernardino da Siena raised his voice in the streets of Venice, and in 1450 his disciple, Fra Santo, anticipating Savonarola, erected a pyre in the Campo San Polo, whereon many flung their *dreze*, *franze*, *drappi*, *vezzi*, and other vanities. Venice would have witnessed very different holocausts had not the government intervened to hold excessive

[1] Cornaro, *La vita sobria*, p. 1.
[2] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 232.
[3] Dalla Santa, *La Lega di Cambray descritta da un merc. Ven.*, cit., p. 12.
[4] Pilot, *Di alcuni versi inediti sulla peste del 1575*.

religious zeal in check and to prevent persecution even of the Jews. For example, in April, 1512, the magistrates severely reprimanded the Franciscan Ruffino Lovato for preaching at San Polo against the Jews, and declaring in the course of his sermon "che saria bon tuorli tutto quello che hanno et ponerli a sacho, perchè questa terra è piena di zudei fuziti qui."[1] Sermons in the open air, which had been prohibited, were permitted once more in the sixteenth century, and every Sunday they were delivered under the porticoes of the Ducal Palace and at Rialto by priests and friars, who were not content with fostering Christian virtue, but prophesied disasters and threatened the vengeance of God. The earthquake on the morning of March 26, 1511, was thought to be a visitation of heaven, and the Patriarch Antonio Contarini exhorted the terrified citizens to penitence for their sins and to a three days' fast on bread and water, with processions, psalms, and litanies, "Cosse," as Sanudo with his excellent common-sense remarks, "che io le laudo quanto ad bonos mores et ad religionem, ma quanto a remedii di teramoti, ch'è cossa natural, nihil valebat."[2] The crowd that gathered round the pietra del Bando on May 18, 1529, to listen to a hermit of Perugia, who, half naked and with breast lacerated by stones, foretold the imminent end of the world and called on his hearers to repent, showing signs of abject terror.[3] Such menaces as these stirred the imagination of the populace, and the religious sentiment broke down into wild superstition. The belief in evil spirits and the dread of diabolical influence became an ever-present incubus, and we have an example in the legend attached to the angel on the façade of the Palazzo Soranzo in the Canal *dell' Angelo* which has taken its name from

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XII, 98.
[2] Ibid., XII, 85.
[3] Ibid., L, 341, 342.

the monument. It is a graceful piece of work by an unknown artist of the Quattrocento, undoubtedly intended by the owner of the house to satisfy his sentiments as a Christian and an artist; but popular tradition tells us of an advocate of the Ducal Courts, a miser and skinflint, who lived in this house and kept a live monkey, possessed by the devil in order to gain the soul of its master. A pious friar was called in to exorcise the demon, and the diabolical animal, flying the house, left a great hole in the wall, which the lawyer, with earnest resolve to change his mode of life, filled up by this image of the angel in a tabernacle.

A childish dread of hell played upon the popular fancy, terrifying it but leaving morals as loose as ever. The clergy themselves set the bad example, though we find now and then a cleric of exemplary life. It is true that the Council of Trent, which closed its labours in 1563, had done much to restore discipline and to correct morals. But its action was slow, and the clergy of Italy as a whole did not offer to their brethren of Venice examples of austerity; enough to mention the single fact that when the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici came to the lagoons in 1532 as guest of the Imperial Ambassador, he was not ashamed to pass the night with that famous courtesan Zaffetta.[1]

In the judgments of the criminal courts we frequently find priests receiving punishment for blasphemy, theft, assassination, in short, for all the vulgar crimes against the commission of which their cloth seems to have been no safeguard[2]; though these facts are not sufficient to warrant us in condemning the whole class. It cannot be said that the Patriarchs were too lenient; their admonitions are frequent, and they intervene to put an end to quarrels over collation to benefices, and exaction of tithes, or to punish the clergy who showed themselves indifferent to all but

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, LVII, 36. [2] Gallicciolli, II, 1668.

money.[1] On this point the priest Gallicciolli, whose testimony is above suspicion, tells the following story: in 1503, in the church of San Tomà, Marina, widow of Niccolò Quirini, presented herself at communion on Easter day; the priest refused to administer the sacrament on the ground that she had failed to pay the tithes on her deceased husband's property. The widow stoutly maintained that she had paid all that was due, and protested against this method of *svergognazzarla coram populo:* "Perchè no me voleu dare i sacramenti? che songio excomunicada?" she exclaimed, and appealed to the courts to inflict on the priest *tal ponitione, che quela sia exempio ad altro.*[2]

In some of the monasteries the early discipline was still maintained, *e si faceva gran abstinentia*[3]; but many of them had become veritable pleasure houses which answered precisely to Calmo's caustic description: "puoca fatiga, bela gesia, buon monastier, galante orto, bel sito, san liogo, assae conversazion, degno prior, rica segrestia, superba intrada, gran caneva e mior graner, e vuove e formazo sine fine."[4] The picture is not edifying, and yet there were other monastic houses which gave cause for graver scandals, as, for example, the Umiliati at the Madonna dell' Orto, who were expelled in the fifteenth century by a Papal decree issued by Pius II, at the request of the Council of Ten.

But the conduct of the nuns was still more riotous and scandalous; corruption was favoured by the prevalence of the custom of monks and nuns inhabiting the same cloister or at least of living close together.[5] The panegyrist of the Doge Andrea Contarini (1368–1382) extols him for having withstood the seductions of the nuns, — a merit which he shares with another Doge,

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 407, 1084.
[2] Ibid., II, 498.
[3] Sanudo, *Diari*, XXXIX, 395.
[4] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 193.
[5] Gallicciolli, II, 512.

Cristoforo Moro (1462–1471), who, although still a young man, compelled a nun who had offered herself to him to return to her convent[1] untouched. As early as June 29, 1349, the Great Council passed a law *contra illos qui committunt fornicationes in monasteriis monialium*. These persons were known under the expressive name of *monachini* or *moneghini*, and against them were directed all the rigours of the law. It was also provided that the chaplains in nunneries must be at least fifty years old, and confessors sixty; the appointment of the latter lay with the Doge.[2] The law which excluded slaves from civil rights permitted slaves in convents to give evidence in cases where the vow of chastity was in question. But the temptations to a breach of the vow were numerous, and the rules of claustral life were not rigorously enforced, for on May 29, 1509, the Patriarch was constrained to issue an order to the abbesses forbidding them to allow nuns to leave the convent or to go *per civitatem in caxe de seculari, in piazza di San Marco, vestide da secular*.[3] This explains how it was possible for Fra Timoteo of Lucca, when preaching before the Doge in San Marco at Christmas of 1497, to declare that the monasteries were *postriboli e bordelli pubblici*.[4]

Among the numerous scandals of the cloister during this period we will cite one or two, sufficient to throw light on this unsavoury subject.

In August of 1502 a certain Sister Mary, prioress of Santa Maria Maggiore, was banished to Cyprus for a love-affair with a priest, Francesco di Sant' Eustachio,

[1] Papadopoli, *Gymn. Patav.*, I, 51.
[2] Gallicciolli, II, 502, 1827.
[3] Ibid., II, 1815, 1818.
[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, I, 836. Lorenzo Priuli, ambassador at Rome, wrote to the Signory, on November 30, 1585: "Il Pontefice è stato informato, che molti delli monasterii di monache di Venezia e della diocesi di Torcello sono in mal stato, e ridotti alcuni di loro a pubblici prostiboli." Mutinelli, *Stor. arc. ed anedd. d'It. raccontata dai Ven. ambasciatori*, I, 170. Venezia, 1855.

such iniquities.[1] We need not dwell longer on the matter; suffice it to say, that the Patriarchs were constantly obliged to appeal to the Council of Ten and to the Avogadori for the application of vigorous measures against those who *ne li monasteri de le contrade usano con monache*.[2] It cannot be said that the Patriarchs, among whom Antonio Contarini (1508) may be reckoned the sternest, found the government remiss on this point. During the sixteenth century the Ten provided that no one extraneous to the convent might have interviews with nuns; it threatened severe penalties for carrying off nuns; it permitted friars to hear confessions only at the grille of the church; it prohibited banquets on the taking of the veil, and, in short, did all it could to regulate *la non bona e licentiosa vita de monasteri de monache*.[3] The Doge himself sometimes interposed his authority, and the Monastic Commissioners were occupied more with the morals than with the property of the religious houses.

As a matter of fact the convents, which in the early days used to receive only women of genuine piety, had now become unendurable prison-houses where luckless maidens were confined by their parents to suit family convenience or for less laudable motives. We catch an echo of this dolorous life in the songs so popular in ancient and modern Italian poetry; there we get the cry of agony or of thwarted liberty uttered by the nun imprisoned against her will and rebellious.[4] The motif is almost invariably the daughter who declares her repugnance to the cloister and confesses that her heart

[1] The archives of the Council of Ten relating to this subject have been destroyed. But the Archive of the Provveditori sopra Monasteri contains twenty volumes of trials, almost all for evil living.

[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXV, 351.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X., *Misti*, August 9, 1514, Reg. 37, c. 73; August 30, 1514, c. 92; May 4, 1519, Reg. 43, c. 22; June 22, 1547; Comune, Reg. 18, c. 34.

[4] Renier, *Appunti sul contrasto fra la madre e la figliuola bramosa di marito* (in the *Miscell. Nuz. Rossi-Teiss*, Bergamo, 1897).

is caught by other loves. One of these poems in a Veneto-Italian dialect offers notable variants on the usual theme. It opens with the proposals of the mother which are wanting in the other versions[1]; she urges her daughter to take the veil and to serve God *fuor dei travagli del mondo*, to flee matrimony, which, *lo sa per prova*, renders women slaves and unhappy:

Figlia mia fate monica
e non ti maridar
ti farò far la tonica
hor la vogli portar,
fuor d'ogni affanno
starai a officij e a messa
e appresso alla badessa
tu porai sempre star.

The girl who feels *le fiamme d'amore*, is deaf to this advice of her mother, who, after all, cannot have found matrimony such a disillusionment, as she had tried it twice:

Madre non mi far monica
che non mi voglio far,
non mi tagliar la tonica
che non la voi portar,
star tutto el zorno
a vespero ed a messa
poi la madre badessa
non fa se non gridar.
Hor che un bel giovanetto
mi ha preso del suo amor,
e sì mi sta nel petto
che ho sempre il pizzacuor,
sarei ben pazza
se venisse a far dieta
e a vespero, e a compieta
cantar a tutte l'hor.

But the tyranny of the family usually overrode all reluctance, and many of these hapless victims, buried away in convents, grew rebellious, and gave their whole minds up to worldly thoughts and the frivolities of

[1] Pilot, *Figlia mia fate monica* (in the *Niccolò Tommaseo*, An. II, Nos. 9, 10. Arezzo, 1905).

dress and of fashion.[1] They adorned themselves in the most sumptuous raiment, refused to have their hair cut, and studied how to amuse themselves with *fêtes*, music, and dances. For instance, in 1509, in the convent of the Celestia a number of young patricians took part in a ball, and danced all night with the nuns to the sound of trumpets and fifes.[2] In the same convent, where, as Berni says,

facean la Pasqua come il Carnevale,

the Patriarch, accompanied by many officers of the Republic, made a surprise visit, and had little difficulty in noting various breaches of the claustral discipline. Among others, he saw a young nun without a veil and with her hair in ringlets, upon which he was so angry that he himself *li tajò li cavelli*. He wished to carry off two of the nuns to lock them up in prison, but "tutte le altre comenzono a cridar et mettersi alla porta sicchè non fonno lassade metter."[3] We have other instances of a similar rebellion on the part of these "servants of the Lord." When, in July, 1514, it was proposed to close the parlour at San Zaccaria, on the ground that it was frequented by *moneghini*, the nuns rose and attacked the officials with stones, and the Patriarch himself had to come on the scene to quiet them.[4] In 1517 the sisters of the convent of Santa

[1] Popular poetry hints at the corruption of the convents:

Mia mare vol che vada munissela
Per sparagnar la dote a mia sorela,
E mi per obedir la mama mia,
Tagio i capelli e munissela sia.
La prima note ch'ò dormito in cela,
Ò sentìo lo mio amore a spassizare;
Vago dabasso per aprir la porta,
Ma la madre badessa se n'è incorta.
E la me dise: munissela fia,
Gasto la freve o xestu inamorata?

Bernoni, *Canti pop. ven.*, Part VI, n. 24.

[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VIII, 307.
[3] Ibid., XXXIX, 345, August 25, 1525.
[4] Ibid., XVIII, 323.

Caterina refused to allow one of the Michiels to be consecrated, and shut the door in the face of the Patriarchal Vicar; the Patriarch appealed to the secular arm, and when the police arrived to break open the convent doors, the nuns retired to the campanile and rang the tocsin.[1]

The curse of vicious living continued to spread through every tissue of Venetian life, but more especially among the upper classes, though even there examples of vigorous and virtuous careers are not lacking. Among the nobility were still to be found those who would risk their lives for their country or place their genius at the public service with a magnanimity worthy of the spirit which inspired their ancestors. For example, Andrea Morosini, when, on May 13, 1500, his son was brought before the Senate on the charge of having in the public streets *basà una dona e tolloli uno zoiello*, rose in his place, as Sanudo tells us, and cried, *Impichello taieli la testa! et cussì fu condannato*.[2] This instance of justice carried to the verge of cruelty is matched by the severity of Pietro Lando, elected Doge in 1539; when he was Podestà in Padua, he ordered the decapitation of a natural son found guilty of having kissed a girl, with whom he was in love, on the public street.[3]

It is certain that no impunity was conceded to the crimes of the nobility in spite of their wide privileges. The law was impartial, and severely punished excesses which, though not involving fatal consequences, tended to lower the prestige of the governing class. Especially rigorous were the edicts against blasphemous language. To the statesmen of Venice, who, in obedience to the spirit of their native dialect, were given to the frequent

[1] Sanudo, *Diart*, XXV, 26.

[2] Ibid., III, 314, 315.

[3] The whole story, recounted by Matteazzi (*Rag. Polit.*, p. 69. Venezia, 1613) and by Luigi Contarini (*Vago e dilett. giardino*, etc. Venezia, 1619), is called in question by historians of repute. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, I, 168.

use of stereotyped phrases and interjections,[1] foul language or oaths seemed like an insult to the religion of their fathers, to the dignity of a race that won universal respect, and an outrage on their language. But the habit of using imprecations was common to patricians, priests, and populace alike,[2] in spite of the fact that laymen were punished by the loss of a hand, or of the tongue, or of the eyes, while the clerics were exposed in the *cheba*.[3] In 1510 an attempt was made to put down swearing among the troops, but the Provveditori in Campo declared that there was only one way of achieving this object: that was to adopt the Turkish punishment and to saw the offenders in two.[4] The government did not require suggestions for appalling punishments; on May 5, 1519, for example, Marin

[1] The *Miscellanea di Cronaca Veneta di Marino Sanuto* (Museo Civico, Cod. Cicogna, 921) contains a collection of the stock phrases used by the more prominent patricians in the usual course of their speeches. These were published by Dr. Cesare Musatti, in the *Ateneo Veneto*, May–June, 1905, but they are worth quoting here:

"*Ditti usavano Senatori in rengha al tempo io era in Pregadi.*

"D.no Augustin Bb. (*Barbarigo*) dose *havè bona volontà e bona disposition*; Luca Zen, *et cetera amo l'anema mia*; Zuan Moresin, *per l'amor di Dio*; Domenego Pollani, *si pro quia*; Domenego Moresini procurator, *lasseme favolar*; Antonio Trun, *vhe vhe*; Nicolò Mocenigo procurator, *alle vagele de Dio*; Filippo Trun procurator, *in summa con fede e carità*; Nicolò Trevisan procurator, *pian de là*; Lunardo Loredan procurator, *signori*; Nane Bollani, *cotal e sì*; Francesco Foscarini Panisella, *pian se ve piase*; Marco Antonio Moresini el K., *le vostre eccellentie*; Pietro Balbi, *per lo vero Dio*; Alvise da Molin Fiammetta, *chi no distingue non sa che dir*; Pietro Duodo, *signori degnissimi*; Lunardo Grimani, *ci è il denaro*; Piero Capello, *son de quelli*; Lorenzo di Prioli, *signori fuissem misericordiae Dei*; Paolo Pisani, *che crudeltà è questa*; Franc° Trun, *non è obedientia*; Alvise Malipiero, *la V. Serenitade*; Bat. Justinian, *mo? de V. Eccellentie*; Polo Basso procurator, *in effetto*; Zorzi Corner, *voio dir cussì*; Zorzi Emo, *vocabuli come Poliphilo*; Ferigo Corner procurator, *la capana* (campana) *sona per nu*; Ant° Grimani, *vardeve signori*.

"*Ditti vecchij avanti il mio tempo*:

"Bernardo Giust.ª Proc^r, *dominie ita*; Vidal Sando, *credette à Vitale*; Piero di Prioli Proc^r, *est no dubito*; Franc° Sanudo, *si pro quia*; Thoma Trivisan Proc^r, *p. reverentia de Dio*; D. no Marco Bb. (*Barbarigo*) fò dose, *l'un in l'altro l'altro in lui*. . ."

[2] Priuli, in his *Diario* for May, 1512, says that *bestemmia era usata da ogni grado di persona*.

[3] Malipiero, *Annali*, Part II, p. 639. [4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, X, 33.

Sanudo writes with revolting indifference: "Etiameri, da poi disnar, in Quarantia criminal fono espediti tre biastematori, quali quella setimana santa biastemono molto in l'hostaria dil Bo a Rialto. *Era in sua compagnia un prete*, et è ritenuti tutti. Fo preso, Sabato a dì 5 poi nona mandarli in una piata per Canal grando, cridando la sua colpa, poi a Rialto per mezo l'hostaria predita gli sia tajà la lingua, *demun* a San Marco in mezo le do colone conduti li sia cavà li occhi et la man destra, e sia confinati in questa terra a esempio di altri."[1] And even the kind-hearted Sanudo adds, "Fo bella parte et cossa notanda." The vice of swearing was so deep-rooted and widespread that in 1437 the government was compelled to create the office of the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia*. Blasphemy against religion and insulting language against the State were put on a par.[2] But the habit of swearing found vent in other ways, and the streets were full of songs containing *molte cose dishoneste e vituperose;* the people even hit upon turns of phrase that veiled a blasphemy; for example, *al dispetto di Dio* takes the form *al conspetto di Dio e al conspettazzo de Dio te romperò i brazzi, te caverò el cuor*, which, as the Ten remark, are "parole che sono indubitate biastemme, per sutterfugire la meritata pena," namely, *galia, corda, frusta, prigionia et bandi, ouero altre sorte di pene.*[3]

The Esecutori contro la Bestemmia were also charged with the surveillance of morals, more especially as regards gambling, which originally came under the vigilance of the Signori di Notte and of the Avogadori di Comune. Gambling with cards was a very prevalent vice, and in 1506 and again in 1539 the Ten intervened

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVII, 241.

[2] In November, 1511, "fo taiata la lengua a Bernardin Milizia padoan fo barbier, su uno soler in mezo le do colone . . . per parole dicte contro lo stato." Sanudo, *Diarî*, XIII, 260.

[3] *Legge del 16 febbraio, 1546*, in the *Parte presa* by the Cons. X (October 19, 1548). See also the resolution of the M. C., August 11, 1559.

in view of the ruin which had overtaken many families; gambling was prohibited, and also the sale of cards and dice; servants were called upon to denounce their masters who held gaming-tables in their houses.[1] In 1542 the Esecutori made an effort to extirpate the evil, and threatened heavy fines for those who kept gaming-tables, especially the Jews who made a large profit out of the ruinous passion of the young patricians, inciting them "a giocar a carti e giuochi illeciti guadagnandoli denari contadi." But in spite of all these measures private gambling-houses sprang up all over the city, and in the sixteenth century we hear of them at San Barnaba, at the Carmini, in the Corte dei Ragusei, at Rialto, at San Geremia *in orto dito di pre Galante*, at San Moisè in the house of a certain *Helena Compagnessa*.[2] The Magistracy accordingly, on February 27, 1567, issued a general prohibition, and in subsequent decrees they offered rewards for those who denounced gaming-houses, and increased the penalties for gamblers, while all the servants employed in such houses were rendered liable to the pillory for the first offence, and to the loss of nose and ears for the second; the sentence to be carried out between the two columns of the piazzetta on the spot where about four centuries earlier the government had granted license to Niccolò Barattieri to set up gaming-tables. This custom of gambling between the two columns was continued down to the reign of Andrea Gritti, when it was abolished. But gambling had taken such a strong hold on the Venetians that decrees were powerless to suppress it.[3] The trials of this period give us not only the names of

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VI, 321–322.

[2] Zdekauer, *Il giuoco a Venezia sulla fine del secolo XVI* (*Arch. Veneto*, XXXVIII, 132 et seq.).

[3] Dolcetti, *Le bische e il gioco d'azzardo*. Venezia, 1903. Dolcetti studies the question chiefly with regard to the eighteenth century. But in an appendix he has published the governmental decrees on the matter; also on the card tax, on bets, on the right to arrest gamblers even in church, on secret and public lotteries, etc.

many of the noblest Venetian families, but we find also that the common people were confirmed gamblers with dice, at cards, at *mora*, and at *bassetta*, in the hostelries, the taverns, on the squares, the bridges, the courtyards of the city, in the gondola or the courtyard of the Ducal Palace, and even in church. The Esecutori, finding that their proclamations, written, printed, or publicly cried, were all of no avail, went the length of having them cut in stone, but with no better result.[1]

While the government was endeavouring on the one hand to suppress gambling, by a curious contradiction it encouraged the public lottery which made its baneful appearance for the first time in 1504, when a decree of the Senate dated March 19th granted leave for a lottery.[2] In 1521 at Rialto a kind of lottery was established, with prizes of carpets, furniture, pictures, clothes, and jewels. Sanudo thus describes the matter: "A Rialto è sussità un novo modo di vadagnar, metando poco cavedal a fortuna: e fu comenzà in cosse basse; auctor Hieronimo Bambarara strazaruol, poi è venuto più in grosso. Prima cadaun che voleva dava pizoli 20, poi vene a lire 3, poi a ducati uno, et si meteva li precii tapedi, spaliere, e altre cosse; hor è venuto arzenti per zerca ducati 200, ed altri à messo una peza di ristagno d'oro dando ducati uno per nome. Et si fa a questo modo: chi vol esser si nota sopra uno sfoio di carta, e dà contadi fuora li denari . . . Tutti chi ha messo si reduseno in certe botege a questo deputade, dove in do sacheti è tanti boletini quanti quelli hanno deposità in uno sacheto; et in l'altro boletini pur scriti; chi dise el tal precio, chi dise *pacientia*. Et cussì reduti tutti, si chiama uno putin et si fo ben massedar li boletini in deti sacheti, poi cava fuori el nome del primo sacheto e va al secondo: si vien precio quelo li tocha è suo: si vien el boletin che è scrito

[1] Zdekauer, op. et loc. cit.
[2] Museo Civico, Cicogna, *Schede*, B. 495.

pacientia non vadagna nula et è so disaventura. Sichè ogni dì in Rialto si sta su queste pratiche et par che Ludovico de La Faita vogli metter ducati 4000, contro tutti chi vol esser, per quanti boletini i vogliono, a ducati X per boletin."[1] These lotteries became so common and found such favour with the public that frequently *non si attendea ad altro,* and the whole city resounded to the cries of names that were being drawn *nè si udiva altro per tutta la terra che pacientia over priezio.*[2] The invention of the public lottery is ascribed to the Genoese[3]; it appears under the auspices of the Venetian government in the year 1590, when, in order to meet the cost of the Rialto Bridge, a lottery for one hundred thousand crowns was issued at the price of two crowns a ticket.[4]

We have other cases where the ruling class set a bad example. Bribery became common among the upper ranks of the State officials; insults and tumults disturbed the assemblies; the judges on the bench were threatened; debts became rife; private houses were filled with *bravi.* The poorer members of the aristocracy descended to any meanness in their efforts to secure highly paid posts, and were called *sguizari*[5] by way of contempt. These pauper nobles would present themselves to their richer peers in humiliating attitudes of submission and supplication, "lowering their stole," as it was called, that is, hanging it over the arm instead of wearing it over the shoulder. All this went on in public, under the porticoes of the Ducal Palace, in the place known as the *brolio,* or *brolo,* and

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî,* XXXII, 468, 500.

[2] Ibid., XXXIII, 13.

[3] Francis, John, *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange,* Chap. VIII, p. 45.

[4] Arch. di Stato, *Pregadi,* March 2, 1590. But in the following June, owing to the *molte difficultà,* the Senate ordered the money to be returned to the subscribers. Dolcetti, op. cit., Appendix V, p. 226.

[5] Sanudo (*Diarî,* XXVIII, 65) says, "Chi vol honor bisogna dar danari ad alcuni poveri zentilhomeni, i quali è chiamati *sguizari.*

hence the words *brogio* and *brogiar*, meaning "intrigue" and "to intrigue." The word *brogio* gives us also *brogeto*, the name for the voting papers in the Senate on which appeared the number of votes and the name of the successful candidate. An anonymous poet of the Cinquecento thus laments the disastrous consequences of the *brogio*:

Adesso no gh'è pi chi sia sinçier,
No gh'è chi vada pi con realtae:
L'adular, l'eser dopio è un bel mestier.
Perchè chi sta su inchini e sbaretae
E chi sa megio fenzer al fradelo,
Ha quanti onori i vuol in sta çitae.
Chi sa chiamar per nome questo e quelo,
E far de i sacramenti e de i sconzuri,
Quel vien stimao e quel vien messo in çielo.[1]

Sanudo too condemns the preferment to public offices not of those who deserve them but of those who pay best, "et cussì va la giustizia di questa terra, che è matto chi se fatica di più"; and in 1516, in the Senate, he attacked the head of the Supreme Court for putting up to public auction government offices, declaring that it was quite legitimate to make much of those who offered their money for the benefit of the State, but that it should never be said that in Venice public posts were for sale to the highest bidder. The government threatened severe punishment against the intriguers of the *broglio* who endeavoured to secure *per mezzi indiretti, magistrati, offitii, reggimenti, et altre dignità, la distribuzione delle quali conviene che sia fatta con giustizia e sincerità.*[2]

If the law was powerless to suppress vice in the public relations of civil life, far less did it prove efficacious in the intimacy of the family, where the arm of the law could reach less readily.

[1] *Capitolo contra 'l Brogio*, sæc. XVI. Marciana, Cl. IX ital., Cod. 273. Published by Borghi in the *Nuove Veglie Veneziane*, Nos. 9–10, November, 1895. See the article by Pilot in the *Ateneo Veneto*, 1904, fasc. 1, 2, 3.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, October 12, 1558; Cons. X, October 21, 1623.

We have seen how corruption began to taint family life in an epoch when it was possible for an honest Venetian patrician to apply the epithet "virtuous" to Alfonso d'Este because he never carried on liaisons with other people's wives, and during his widowhood confined his attention to girls whose honour he bought from their consenting parents.[1] But we have already pointed out that virtue and vice stood close together in Venice, and that we must consider as libellous a certain class of writers who represent Venetian women as stained with all that is degrading and brutifying in this respect.[2] Still, after making every allowance

[1] *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 422. Manolesso, the author, was not ambassador at Ferrara, but he wrote a report which has been inserted by mistake.

[2] We may quote, as an example of the malicious invective launched against Venetian women, the remarks of that bitter and capricious writer, Ortensio Lando, Milanese by birth, though of Piacentine blood: "Sunt Venetae ingenio mirum in modum vario, cupiunt flavos capillos, et cutis candorem multo sibi comparant artificio, sunt quidem forma bona, sed gestus, et mores, plane meretricios habent, sunt tibis brevioribus, illic, tu multas offendes quae lucri gratia se prostent, multas item quae solum amoris quadam abundantia libenter assentantur: nimio luxu diffluunt, voluptatibus deditissimae, oratione sunt placidissima ac lenociniis plaena, si se amore capi sinant (quod saepissime fit) nullum omnino discrimen faciunt pulcher an deformis, splendido an obscuro loco natus sit." *Forcianae quaestiones, in quibus varia Italorum ingenia explicantur multaque alia scitu non indigna*, auctore Philalete Polytopiensi (Ortensio Lando) c. 13. Neapoli, 1536. In more moderate if more witty language, Marin Sanudo addresses the women who unite immodesty in dress with lightness of living, and gives them sound advice in this curious sonnet, *che insegna a far beleto* (Marciana, Cl. IX ital., Cod. 369, fol. 81):

Donne, un secreto ve voglio insegnare,
de lisarve con *bona conscientia*
ché mai vi sarà dato penitentia
dal frate che vi andate a confessare.
La prima volta ve convien pigliare
grasso de *honestade* e de *prudentia*,
oglio de *vergogna e continentia*
e col *timor d'infamia* mescolare.
Senno, modestia, silentio agiongete;
con *bianca purità* fate l'unguento:
quanto vi piace di quel ve ponete.
E di voi ussirà uno olimento
che chi ve vedrà voi consolarete.

for the malignity of some authors, we cannot deny that family life did suffer from the corrosion of vice and that the family tie was gradually relaxed. That grave abuse of early times, the custom of celebrating marriages without the religious rite and merely in the presence of witnesses, continued down to the seventeenth century, and gave opportunity to the evilly disposed to marry a series of wives. For example, we hear of a Ser Paulo da Canal, who was condemned on April 24, 1532, for having married first a courtesan and then a noble lady of the Valier family.[1] The decrees of the Council of Trent seem to have had little effect, for on August 28, 1577, we find the Council of Ten threatening severe penalties against *quei scelerati che sotto prelesto di matrimonio pigliano donne colla sola parola de praesenti . . . e che dopo violate e godute per qualche tempo, le lassano ricercando la dissoluzione del matrimonio dalli giudici ecclesiastici.* There was no kind of check on illicit relations, and natural children were often treated with the same care and affection as legitimate offspring, with whom they frequently shared in the paternal inheritance. Marin Sanudo, for instance, made provision for two natural daughters, and the austere and upright Sebastian Venier had two natural sons: Filippo, who became a priest, and Marco, on whom he lavished as much affection *quasi più che se fossero stati legittimi;* he named them in his will along with his lawful wife Elena and his son-in-law Francesco Morosini. Side by side with the legitimate family we find the natural family, living in perfect harmony; even in the priesthood there were cases where clerics bestowed affection on their bastard progeny, and at the moment of baptism merely declared a false parentage

Et di ciò Dio ne sarà contento;
e poi nel suo convento
ve accetterà nel Sancto Paradiso,
se sol di questo ve adornate il viso.

[1] Sanudo, *Diari*, LVI, 57.

or hid their own under the formula *hoc loco nominari non licet*.[1]

There was one vice especially rampant among the clergy and men of letters, which stains the life of the Italian Renaissance, that most degrading of vices, sodomy. Rome was its chief hot-bed, but Venice was not exempt. Even such distinguished personages as Marin Sanudo and Celio Magno do not escape the charge. In Sanudo's case it seems to have been a calumny, and we are loath to blacken the memory of the great diarist with so foul a blot.[2] Magno has left verses which do not, perhaps, prove his guilt, but in which he confesses his preference for *il volto del suo Tirsi almo e sereno*.[3] It is certain that the *abominandum vitium* figures largely in the decrees of the Republic, and to uproot it (*eradicetur de civitate nostra*) recourse was had to the *cheba* and to capital punishment. In 1492 the patrician Bernardino Correr,[4] and in 1545 the priest Francesco Fabrizio, were condemned to decapitation between the columns of the piazzetta, and their bodies were burned.[5] A law of May 16, 1455, permitted the two nobles appointed in each parish for the suppression of this vice, to carry arms; while two decrees of the Ten, one in 1455[6] and the other in 1458, declare that *in domo multorum schaletariorum huius*

[1] See a baptismal certificate of 1498 in which the father was in all probability the canon and master Giovanni Aurelio Augurello. See Biscaro, *Lorenzo Marcello*, p. 18.

[2] The accusation is brought in a letter dated January 29, 1529, written by Malatesta, the Marquis of Mantua's ambassador in Venice. See Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia*, p. 11.

[3] Pilot, *Anche Celio Magno*. Venezia, 1895.

[4] "Ai 12 d'ottubrio (1492) per decreto del Consiglio dei X, è stà tagià la testa e brusà Bernardin Correr, per haver voluto sforzar Geronimo Foscari, q.m Urban." Malipiero, *Annali*. The law was less severe on another patrician, Giustinian, who was banished for this crime, but was afterwards absolved and married to a lady of the Nani family, niece of the Doge Agostino Barbarigo.

[5] Arch. di Stato, *Misti*, XX, 169. *Criminali*, VI, 74.

[6] Ibid., Cons. X, *Misti*, Reg. 15, c. 80.

nostrae civitatis, multi juvenes et alii diversarum aetatum et conditionum se reducunt de die et de nocte ubi tenentur ludi, where they commit *multas inhonestates et sodomie*. But decrees were ineffectual for the suppression of the *publici ed infami redutti di giuoco, di crapula et d'altre dishonestà*, and 1527, 1586, and 1598 saw fresh laws passed by the Esecutori contro la Bestemmia.[1] Men even took to dressing *in habito femmineo*, and still more frequently the loose women of the town put on male attire, *quod est species quedam sodomie*. They hid half the face with their hair, which was gathered up in a great knot on the top of the head called a *fungo*, — a mode of dressing the hair which was severely prohibited by a law of the Ten, passed on March 5, 1480. Some writers tell us that the government took certain strange measures in order to bring the men back to natural appetite in these matters; for instance, it required the courtesans to sit on their window-sills with their legs dangling and bodices unloosed; but for this provision we have no documentary authority.[2]

Female slaves were a more effectual means for combating unnatural desires. The slave population forms a dark background to Venetian life. The trade, it is true, gradually fell off, but did not cease entirely; for even in the fifteenth century we find the Senate imposing a duty of five ducats on every slave exported from Venice, and even later, at the close of the sixteenth century (1598), cargoes of slaves still arrived in the city.[3] Wills and contracts furnish us with a

[1] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, *Comune*, Reg. 48, c. 110.

[2] Gallicciolli, III, 2, gives this bizarre prescription without quoting authority. According to some writers, the *Ponte de le tete* at San Cassian derived its name from this usage. The harlots were confined to the quarter called *Carampane*, where no doubt they did flaunt themselves half naked at the doors and windows.

[3] See Appendix, Doc. E, for the cost of a shipload of slaves. See also Cibrario, *Della schiavitù et del servaggio*, Milan, 1868, and Lazari, *Del traffico et della condizione degli schiavi*. It is not known with certainty when the traffic ceased in Venice. Venetian subjects continued to make slaves,

pretty accurate idea of the condition of slaves at this period; as a rule, they were baptised and their names changed. Their life was not a hard one; indeed, they were better treated than domestic servants, and we find that houses and considerable sums of money are sometimes devised in favour of female slaves, more especially if they had borne children, while this never happens in the case of domestic servants. An inhabitant of San Silvestro provides in his will that one of his slaves is to serve his mistress for seven years, at the close of which he is to be manumitted and to receive a legacy. Black slaves frequently served as gondoliers. Women slaves were employed as wet nurses.[1] We have contracts of purchase in which the price is very high. Young and good-looking slaves were reserved for intimate service. One priest sells a female slave to another, but the following day the contract is annulled, as she is found to be with child. Nor can we omit the report of a Milanese ambassador, that the Doge Pietro Mocenigo, though seventy years old, had two handsome Turkish slaves as concubines, whom he had brought with him from the Levant.[2] The Venetians, who like *robbe sode, morbide e fresche*, and cared not for *petrarchescarie*,[3] found food for their appetite in the serving-maids and the nurses imported from the

without any opposition by the government, till after the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1661 Gianfrancesco Orio, Provveditore at Cattaro, writes to the Senate to say that trade in slaves was the *principale, anzi l'unico alimento* of the Morlachs and Haiduchs, *nuovamente venuti all'antica devotione*. The Provveditore had abstained from interfering so as not to disgust the populace and *privarli del cotidiano sostenimento*, though he took special care to see that among the slaves were neither Christians nor Venetian subjects. Traffic in Turks and infidels was quite free. *Con questi fondamenti*, says the Provveditore, *ho rilasciato le fedi e permesso l'estrattioni*.

[1] Arch. di Stato, Sez. Not., Atti Filosofis Domenico, 1405, III, 2, 5. Atti de Paolo, 1445, III, 4, 5.

[2] Arch. di Stato di Milano, *Carteggio diplomatico*, Dispaccio, February 11, 1475.

[3] Aretino, *Ragionamenti*, Part II, p. 48, edit. Bengodi, 1584.

mainland and especially from Friuli, the home of sound and healthy women. On April 15, 1390, the Council of Udine condemn the action of a number of procuresses who sent to Venice "le balie e le serve dei cittadini udinesi a prostituirsi," which resulted in a lack of nurses and servants, and also damaged the good name of Friuli.[1]

Prostitution flourished beyond all bounds in spite of excellent legislation. By law the courtesans were obliged to live in the *Castelletto* at San Matteo at Rialto, and in the *Carampane* at San Cassiano; but Bandello[2] tells us that in his day they had grown so numerous that they had spread all over the city. Tom Coryat, with the carelessness common to the passing tourist, asserts that at the time of his sojourn in Venice in 1608 there were at least twenty thousand.[3] These figures are fantastic. We know that from the close of the sixteenth century and onwards prostitution was on the decline. Sanudo gives the number of courtesans in his day as 11,654,[4] and we should have thought even that an exaggeration, were not the statement supported by a truthful witness, Merlini, the merchant, whom we have already quoted.[5] Bernardino Occhino, in one of his sermons, exclaims: "Descendi in forse dieci o dodici mila case da meretrici in questa città che sono state tanti inferni doue hanno rubbato e assassinato tante anime e toltali la gratia de Iddio."[6] Coryat says that this leniency towards prostitution was conceded *ad vitanda maiora mala;* otherwise family honour would have been assailed, wives seduced, and husbands *capricornified*, which was the indignity least endurable to a Venetian. We may doubt whether such was the real motive of the

[1] Marcotti, *Donne e monache*, p. 223. Firenze, 1884.
[2] *Novelle*, Part III, nov. 31.
[3] Coryat, *Crudities*, II, 40.
[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VIII, 414.
[5] Dalla Santa, *La Lega di Cambray*, etc., p. 31.
[6] Occhino, *Prediche*, p. 3.

government[1] when we remember that they drew a revenue from the trade and imposed taxes on prostitutes, as on October 22, 1514, when the income was applied to the enlargement of the arsenal.[2] But the pimp and the pander drew a larger profit than did the government from this shameless traffic. They were not always drawn from the dregs of society, and they sometimes boasted a certain culture, especially in poetry, music, and the graceful accomplishments.[3] We find among them priests, friars, and patricians, unless, indeed, the passage in Taddeo Vimercati's despatch of June 25, 1492, be a calumny. Vimercati was the Milanese ambassador in Venice, and he says: "Che per li bandi, che in questi giorni solamente fuerono dati a ruffiani di questa terra, sono levati de qua sino al presente giorno cento undici zenthilhuomeni quali tenevano femine in guadagno, ed eserciveno el rufianesmo, ultra molti pretti et fratti."[4] Anyway, the business must have been widespread if the Council of Ten found it necessary to publish, in January, 1518, a decree of banishment for all pimps, who were to leave the city within three days.[5] Sometimes the guilty were held up to the derision and scorn of the mob, being placed in the pillory with their heads crowned with coronets and mitres painted all over with devils. On July 10, 1502, a man of the people, by name Alvise Beneto, who had sunk so low as to traffic in his wife's honour and to keep a note of his gains, was condemned to be led round the city on an ass, dressed in yellow and with a great horn on his head.[6] On July 9, 1507, three

[1] This view is still held. See Canello, *Storia della letteratura italiana nel secolo XVI*. Milano, 1880.

[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XIX, 165.

[3] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 505.

[4] Arch. di Stato di Milano, *Carteggio diplomatico degli oratori milanesi*, Dispaccio, June 25, 1492.

[5] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXV, 397-398.

[6] Ibid., IV, 291. Punishment similar to this was meted out for other offences. On March 23, 1514, an advocate of the Tribunale del Forestier

VENETIAN Courtesans — from the "Customs" of Bertelli and Vecellio

women found guilty of having lain with Turks[1] were flogged all the way along the Merceria. This was the punishment awarded to any courtesan who admitted Mussulmans and Jews.

Along with the corruption of morals came the undermining of public health by the inroads of that terrible disease, unknown to the Middle Ages, but which appeared about the time the French invaded Italy under Charles VIII.[2] The unfortunate victims of the *mal francese*, the luckless women who passed from the brothel to the hospital, roused a general feeling of contempt and scorn which finds expression in popular poetry.[3]

In such a society, where moral degradation was united to physical infirmity, we cannot wonder that crime came in their train, and sometimes the woman who had lost all sense of shame became an assassin. For instance, in 1506, a widow of Mirano, having taken to a loose life, found herself one night in the house of a smith who had a liaison with her. She killed the smith and stole his hard-earned gains, and then set fire to the house to cover the traces of her crime. But she was discovered, after all, and paid the penalty by losing her hand and by being decapitated.[4] In the shady

was placed in the pillory at San Marco, with a crown of devils on his head, for giving false evidence in a power of attorney. Sanudo, XVIII, 63.

[1] Ibid., VII, 115.

[2] The Spaniard Delgado, in one of his romances, *La Lozana Andalusa*, deals with the origin of this terrible disease. Delgado, who lived long in Venice, published there a book entitled *El modo di adoperare el legno di India occidentale salutifero remedio a ogni plaga e si guarisce il mal francese*. See *Les courtisanes à Venise et la pol. des mœurs à Venise*, pp. 50, 51. Bordeaux, 1886.

[3] Rossi, V., *Lettere del Calmo*. Rossi cites a roundel of Strazzóla's *fatto per el mal franzoso*, which was transcribed by Marin Sanudo. Both priests and patricians were victims of the loathsome disease. Sanudo, VI, 294, and VIII, 254, relates that on February 11, 1506, Andrea Lando, Archbishop of Crete, died of it, and on May 16, 1509, Paolo Cappello declined the post of Provveditore in Campo *refudoe scusandosi per aver mal franzoso*.

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, VI, 288, 289.

purlieus of this vicious society it was an easy matter to hatch plots against the State, and the government found itself obliged to keep such women in its pay and to reward their espionage.[1] Antonio Landi, secretary to the Senate, an old man of seventy years, separated from his wife, who was living at Padua, was, in spite of his age and his position, entangled in an affair with a certain Laura Troilo, who lived at Santa Ternita. The house of his mistress seemed to him a convenient place for selling the secrets of the Republic. He had as accomplice another Venetian, an emissary of the Duke of Mantua. At their meetings they talked Latin, which roused the suspicions of the woman. She told another lover of hers, who hid himself behind the bed and discovered that Landi betrayed to his companion the cipher code of the Senate. The Ten were informed, and on March 25, 1491, old Landi was arrested at Troilo's house. He was taken to the Palazzo, tried the following morning, and the same evening, dressed just as he was, in a robe with large sleeves, he was sent to the gibbet between the two columns. A rope was not at hand, and the shops were all shut; so a cord was brought from the arsenal. In the pitch dark of the night the culprit was swung off; the rope broke, and Landi fell to the ground, fracturing his arm, but he was strung up a second time and strangled. Laura Troilo received twenty-five ducats as the reward of her treachery.[2]

Gradually, as society grew more and more refined, investing vice itself with attractive colours, the common type of courtesan, ignorant and coarse, came to be despised, and the world began to look for the woman who possessed spiritual as well as physical charms, who was capable of being a friend as well as a mistress and yet did not entail the burdens and responsibilities

[1] *Les Courtisanes et la police*, cit., p. 11.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, I, 918.

of a wife.[1] And thus there came into being a kind of aristocracy inside the class of courtesans. The woman who had sold herself and earned an opprobrious epithet, in Venice was called by the gentle title of *cortigiana*, and, curiously enough, enjoyed the further designation of *honorata*.[2] The women of this class carried on their trade in their own houses, and are not to be confounded with their luckless sisters, who, though often styled *cortigiane*, passed their wretched existence in brothels:

Quai di gran case e quai di Carampane.[3]

Poet, historian, and sovereign of this vicious world was Pietro Aretino. Marston, the dramatist, in fact describes Venice as a school of lechery in which Aretino was the head master.[4] He was the embodiment of the corruption of his day, and concentrated in his own person all its shame and all its hypocrisy. The man who could write *beati gli inchiostri, beate le penne, beate le carte*, which were dedicated to the service of the Madonna,[5] who could compose *La passione di Gesù*, *La vita della Vergine*, and other works of devotion, was also the author of the *Ragionamenti*, in which obscenity becomes absolutely disgusting. Aretino had a school of imitators who were, in fact, adventurers about on a par with the courtesans. There was that scurrilous libeller, Niccolò Franco of Beneventum (b. 1515), at first a warm supporter but later a bitter rival of Aretino in their efforts to squeeze the pockets of the rich. The quarrel between the precious pair reached such a pitch that Ambrogio Eusebi, husband of Marietta, one of

[1] Canello, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, p. 23. Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (*Una cortigiana fra mille*), p. 217.

[2] The women of easy virtue, who lived with their employers, were called, in Venice, *mamole*.

[3] Though the term "courtesan" was applied indiscriminately to all women who sold themselves, still there was a distinction between the courtesan and the harlots of *Carampane* (Citolini, *Tipocosmia*, p. 443, Venezia, 1561). *Carampana* means, even to-day, a woman of the loosest life.

[4] Symonds, *Il Rin. in Ital.* (*L'era dei Tiranni*), p. 392. Torino, 1900.

[5] Aretino, *Lettere*, II, 168.

Aretino's mistresses, slashed Franco in the face with a dagger in 1539. Aretino not only supported the complacent husband when before the court, but encouraged him to go on insulting Franco by walking up and down before Franco's house, which was the worst scorn he could put upon the man he had wounded.[1] Franco made up his mind to leave Venice, and after a stormy existence he was hanged by Pope Pius V in 1570. Celio Malespini was another of the same kidney. He was descended from the ancient lords of the Lunigiana, but was born at Venice, according to some, at Verona, according to others, in the year 1531; he was a forger, a spy, and a rake.[2]

Adventurers like these and the most shameless courtesans formed the company in Aretino's house, but foreigners of real distinction and nobles of Venice, such as Maffio Lion and Francesco Mocenigo, neighbours of Aretino, were not ashamed to frequent his salons. There lived with him several of his mistresses, who were known under the general title of *Aretine*. The names of some have come down to us. There was Marietta Eusebi, already mentioned, and Angela del Moro, called la Zaffetta, who had managed to *porre al volto della lascivia la maschera dell'onestà*,[3] and Caterina

[1] Aretino, *Lettere*, II, 97. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, cit.

[2] Saltini, *Di Celio Malespini* (in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XIII, 35. Firenze, 1894).

[3] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 243. Among all the *Aretine* Angela del Moro was the most notorious, chiefly because Lorenzo Veniero attacked her in a poem entitled *La Zaffetta*, and because she was the victim of a monstrous practical joke, played on her by Venier about 1530. Venier was resolved to be revenged on La Zaffetta for having repelled his advances; he tempted her to Chioggia, where he forced her to yield her person to the embraces of thirty-one paramours in a single night (*Les trente et un de la Zaffetta*, text and translation. Paris, Liseux, 1883). Aretino himself has recorded the adventure in the fourth act and third scene of the *Cortigiana*. Apostolo Zeno thinks that this episode gave rise to the common phrase *Aver un trentuno*, that is, to get the devil of a fright. See, *Cenni stor. e leggi circa il libertinaggio in Ven.* Venezia, 1886. It is, however, certain that La Zaffetta never endured this indignity, and Venier's own words prove it. Graf, op. cit., p. 261.

Sandella, who bore him a daughter named Adria,[1] and the Contessa Madrina, and Franceschina, Madonna Paolina, Chiara, and Margherita[2]; lastly, Perina Riccia, to whom Aretino seems to have been genuinely attached, in spite of her infidelity, for she died in his arms and he mourned her long.[3] The *Aretine* enjoyed the pomp of silks, brocades, gold chains, pearls, every comfort, honour, and respect.[4] Angela Tornimbeni, wife of Giannantonio Sirena (d. 1540), is not to be reckoned among the *Aretine*, though her conduct was not above reproach. She was an authoress and a poet; and Aretino, when declaring his devotion, addressed to her sixty stanzas, which, though he pronounced them *castissimamente composte*, gave such umbrage to the lady's husband and relations that the domestic harmony was ruined, and the unfortunate Angela fell into despair and died prematurely.[5] Aretino lived in Casa Bollani, at the Santi Apostoli, for upwards of twenty years, till, in 1551, he moved to the parish of San Luca, to the house of Leonardo Dandolo on the riva del Carbon. Here he spent the remaining years of his life in low intrigues. Tradition has it that he found an ignoble end to an ignoble life; it is said that in a fit of immoderate laughter at some filthy joke he lost his balance, fell off his stool, and cracked his skull; but as

[1] Mazzucchelli (*Vita di Pietro Aretino*, Brescia, 1763) reproduces a medal with a portrait of the mother, *Caterina mater*, on the obverse, and on the reverse the daughter, *Hadria divi Petri Aretini filia*. Adria married in 1539, Diotallevi Rota, and her father gave her a dower of a thousand ducats.

[2] Aretino, writing in January, 1540, to Marcolini, says: "Marietta, Chiara et Margherita, già mie massare et hora signore . . . si chiamano l'Aretine." *Lettere*, III, 89.

[3] See the letter in Book III to Marietta Riccia, mother of Perina.

[4] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 221. The murrey-coloured dress of taffeta sown with gold, the sleeves of purple velvet embroidered in silver, the coif of green silk with gold design, which the Marchesa Rangone sent to Aretino, were reserved for Perina Riccia *non manco adorna di virtù che se fosse nata in paradiso* (*Lettere*, I, 78).

[5] Mazzucchelli, *Vita*, p. 98.

a matter of fact he died of apoplexy, — the very death he himself desired, as he says in one of his letters to Bollani.[1]

Venice did not draw subtle distinctions; she offered asylum to virtuous poverty and to flaunting vice indifferently. From all quarters of the globe adventurers and courtesans flocked *a pascolare in le nostre lagune*.[2] Time has obliterated the names of many virtuous ladies who passed their days in the honourable repose of the domestic circle, but we have superabundant records of the names and careers of others who acquired the unenviable notoriety conferred by vice. *La Signora Rina* enjoyed a widespread reputation in Venice, though Rome seems to have suited her better.[3] Vienna Rizzi also made a fortune there. She began her career timidly and modestly in Venice, but in Rome she became *tutta aierosa, astuta de resposte, lenguina piena de accenti toscani*.[4] The Lady Honoranda, too, abandoned her native Venetian, and adopted Tuscan and foreign pronunciation and speech. She plastered her face with cosmetics till she looked like a *maschera di Modena*, and she walked the streets of Venice with her *maggiordomo innanzi, col paggio che portava il satino, et con fanti et massare*.[5] We meet with other names in the anonymous pamphlets, where the poetaster under the impulse of revenge or of maliciousness, wallows in a mire of obscenity and slander. There is a little volume[6] of *terza rima*, undoubtedly

[1] We have the declaration of Pietro Paolo Demetrio, the parish priest of San Luca, dated September 21, 1581, in which he attests that Aretino died of apoplexy, and was buried in the church, and adds that he confessed and communicated before his death.

[2] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 278.

[3] Aretino, *Lettere*, III, 312.

[4] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 248.

[5] *Lettere di diversi Autori raccolte per Venturin Ruffinelli*. First and only volume. Mantua, 1547. Quoted by Cian, *Galanterie italiane del sec. XVI*, p. 56.

[6] *Tariffa ecc. overo Ragionamento del Forestiere et del Gentiluomo: nel quale si dinota il prezzo e la qualità di tutte le cortigiane di Venezia.*

from the forge of Aretino and his pupil Venier, which gives us the names of the principal courtesans who swarmed in Venice:

> . . . quante rane ha in se palustre fondo
> e la terra formiche e fiori i prati.

According to the foul-mouthed versifier very few of these women possessed the attractions demanded by their profession. The Lombard woman who came to Venice quite poor soon got together a good sum of money thanks not to her beauty, but *per lo ingegno suo sottile*. Cornelia Griffo asked forty scudi for her favours,

> ma questo egli è pur prezzo dishonesto
> e forse miglior robbe ne i bordelli
> ha per due soldi alcun che porta il cesto.

Angela Zaffetta has a loathsome malady. Lucrezia Squarcia tries in vain to hide her vulgarity of mind under the garb of a poetess, and

> recando spesso il Petrarchetto in mano.

Bigola and Cumea seek to conceal the ravages of time with rouges and enamels. The lowest trollop is to be preferred to Tullia d'Aragona. Angela Sarra is shame and ugliness personified. One and all fleece their incautious admirers. Very few are favourably handled by this merciless judge. Lucia dagli Alberi is beautiful and well-born. Inella has a sweet expression. Stellina, who is only fifteen, has eyes that stab. But there is one of such rare beauty

> che a dir di lei vengon le voci meno.

She is not named, and this strange reserve on the part of such a writer suggests that he refers to his own mistress, which would account for his vicious handling of the others. Equally scurrilous is the *Pronostico alla*

Venezia, 1535; reprinted at Paris, Liseux, 1883. Luzio (*Pietro Aretino ne' primi suoi anni a Venezia*, cit., p. 121) suggests that a certain Antonio Cavallino, creature and pupil of Aretino, may have been the author of the *Tariffa*.

Villota in the Paduan dialect by the *excellente dottore M. Salvaor dell'Anguillara.*[1] He mentions especially those

> povere e sciagurate cortigiane
> che cibo son della minuta gente.[2]

Beginning with the brothels of the *Carampane*, the writer passes in review the unfortunates

> così miseramente
> e così con gran stente
> le passerà sua vita.

Still more curious is the *Catalogo di tutte le principal et più honorate cortigiane*,[3] which gives us many particulars of this world of corruption.

And yet this hot-bed of vice is illuminated sometimes by rays of pure beauty, and the women who are vilified in scurrilous verse, branded with shame in the tariffs and the stern decrees of the government, appear transfigured on the canvases of the great masters, who undoubtedly chose for their models these women who did not shrink from that full display of their charms which we find reproduced in those superb Venuses of Giorgione

[1] Published in 1558 by *Mattio Pagan in Frezaria all'insegna de la Fede.* It was reprinted by Lorenzi in the *Leggi e Memorie Venete sulla prostituzione fino alla caduta della Republica*, Venezia, for Lord Orford, 1870–1872.

[2] *Tariffa*, cit.

[3] *Catalogo di tutte le principal et più honorate cortigiane di Venetia; il nome loro et il nome delle loro pieze et le stantie ove loro abitano, et di più ancor vi narra la contrada ove sono le loro stantie, et etiam il numero de li dinari che hanno da pagar quelli Gentilhomini et al che desiderano entrar nella sua gratia.* Published by Lorenzi, op. cit., p. 1. The price varied from a half crown to thirty crowns. *Livia Azzalina a San Marcilian pieza Maria Visentina et Meneghina sta in Corte de Ca Badoer al ponte dei Sassini sc. 25, e Paolina, fila caneuo, a Santa Lucia, pieza una so massera sc. 30.* These are the two most expensive. Among the courtesans we find married women, *Andriana Schiavonetta a Santa Fosca donna maridada, pieza so mare, scudi 4.* — *Caterina da Todi donna maridada a San Vio pieza la so massera sc. 1.* The pimping was often done by men neither belonging to the family nor relations. *Caterina Caleghera a Santo Aponal piezi li facchini di campo sc. 2.* — *Franceschina Verzotta, al ponte de Noal, piezo mistro Zorzi tosador de panni li arente sc. 1.* The Catalogue ends with these words: "Il numero di queste Signore è 215 et chi vol haver amicitia de tutte bisogna pagar scudi d'oro No. 1200."

Venus. (Painting by Giorgione in the Royal Gallery in Dresden)

or of Titian, the contemplation of which can rouse no baser feeling than an intense admiration for beauty in its highest manifestation. Paris Bordon's superb courtesan, in the National Gallery of London, has nothing provocative in her glance, and yet critics, not given to fanciful conjectures, believe that we have in her the *donna lascivissima* of whom Vasari speaks, and maybe even the portrait of the notorious Zaffetta herself.[1] Another picture by Bordon, now in the Museum at Vienna,[2] is supposed to give us a portrait of Zaffetta; there the woman has her breast bare, but there is nothing sensual in the lovely face, expressive only of gentleness and grace. Nor, again, is the *Seduzione* by Bordon a lascivious picture in any sense. In the sweet face of the girl and the eager and anxious expression of the man it would seem almost as though the painter had attempted to idealise a scene vulgar in itself, for it is not passion or love that is leading the girl to yield to the man who has his arm already round her, but the gift of a golden chain which she has taken in her hand, while in the background a sinister individual — a distant cousin of Mephistopheles — watches the proceedings. In face of this supreme art, the morally repugnant nature of the subject is forgotten and disappears.

Among the courtesans themselves there were some who redeemed to a certain extent their ignoble profession by a note of intellectual culture, who aimed at achieving the position of the Greek *hetairai*. Some of them came of good citizen families, like Veronica Franco, Livia Azzalina, Cornelia Griffo, Bianca Saraton, and could not, even in the degrading conditions of their life, fail to reveal in their manners, aspect, and carriage the stock from which they sprang. Francesco Grazzini,

[1] Bailo and Biscaro, *Paris Bordon*, pp. 52, 120. In the Catalogues she is called a lady. Her age is painted on the background of the picture: "Ætatis suæ Ann. XVII."

[2] Bailo and Biscaro, op. cit., p. 186.

called Il Lasca, recalls the graceful, gracious, fascinating Aquilina of Venice,[1] and Bernardo Tasso offers to Marietta Mirtilla noble words of comfort for the death of her lover Antonio Brocardo,[2] the pupil of Trifon Gabriele and a good poet, cut off in the prime of his days. The letters of Brocardo to his Mirtilla breathe a spirit of tender affection absolutely free from a shadow of shamelessness. He calls her *cara sorelletta mia*, and desires to kiss her hand, *la bella, honorata, virtuosa, gentile e cortese mano*,[3] and he endeavours to appease her when she reproaches him for not having sent a volume of his poems to her sooner than to any one else.[4] These cultured courtesans were bent on rivalling the great ladies of Venice, and they were often successful; their houses, where the literary coteries used to meet, became *nuovi parnasi*.[5] They appealed to men's sensibilities not only by the charm of their conversation and by their skill in versification, but also by their graceful dancing and their singing to the lute. Lucia Trevisan *dona di tempo tuta cortesana cantava per excelentia*, and at her house

1 Grazzini, *Rime burlesche*. Firenze, 1882. Grazzini gives the following advice to the Venetian courtesan who is on the point of setting out for Rome:

> attendere quei preti a vendemmiare
> c'hanno grosse badie e grosse entrate
> e de' danar non san quel che si fare
> godendo allegri a sontuosa mensa.

Further on (p. 397) he writes of Aquilina:

> quella che tanto s'ama e pregia
> grazia e bellezza e valor più che umano,
> c'ha in se la vaga e leggiadra Aquilina,
> a cui la terra, il mare e il ciel s'inchina.

2 Tasso, Bernardo, *Rime*. Venezia, 1560. Tasso's sonnet begins:

> Perchè la neve, e'l puro avorio, e netto
> Bagni di pianto: e con dogliosi accenti
> Percuoti d'ogni intorno l'aria, e i venti
> Chiamando lui, che fu quaggiù perfetto.

3 *Lettere di diversi, nobilissimi huomini*, cit., I, 197 et seq.
4 Ibid., pp. 304 et seq.
5 Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 38.

Portrait of a Venetian Courtesan, by Paris Bordon. (London, National Gallery)

se reduceva tutte le virtù in the musical world; at her death, on October 16, 1514, she was honoured by a solemn funeral and choral mass in the church of Santa Caterina,[1] just as if she had practised the moral virtues all her life. No one could equal the Signora Franceschina "nel dare lo spirito dell'armonia agli strumenti e la voce della musica al canto"[2]; so, too, the unknown courtesan whom Michele Parrasio has painted playing the lute, is clearly an expert on the instrument. The most celebrated of all these ladies was Veronica Franco (b. 1546); her beauty and her wit were famous. In the *Catalogo delle cortigiane* her name occurs thus: *Vero. Franca a Santa Mar. Formo. pieza so mare, scudi 2.* This low price would lead us to suppose that there must be an error, or else that Veronica had only just begun her ignoble calling. Among her many lovers we find Lorenzo Ramberti, the man who in 1539 saved his own brother, Pietro, from the infamy of a public execution, by supplying him with poison, when he was condemned for the murder of their aunt with intent to rob. In his will, which is certainly apochryphal, Ramberti leaves to his son certain property to be enjoyed by him and his mother Veronica. The testator declares that he finds himself "con qualche pericolo del corpo sì per l'età mia come per li molti disordini che fazzo con la mia dilettissima madonna Veronica Franco alla quale lascio un buon letto di piume, perchè la ghe ne poderave haver gran bisogno, col patto che la nol possa nè vender, nè impegnar, nè dar a Zudii"; he concludes by ordering for his tomb *un deposito di piere cotte,* on which is to be carved an epitaph in Italian verse "azzò sieno intesi da tutti et sotto di essi sia destagia un V grando ed un F in memoria che sono stati fatti dalla dottissima Veronica Franco."[3] Veronica

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XIX, 138.
[2] Aretino, *Lettere*, IV, 242.
[3] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 884.

was the subject of many satires, among others a poem in which the anonymous writer declares that he will not pay the rich and elegant courtesan the price of her favours:

> Saveu chi che se paga? ste massere,
> Ste strazzette, che canta in mollinello,
> Ste fie de puttane e lavandere.[1]

This vulgar abuse is in violent contrast with the glowing praises, both in prose and verse, addressed to Veronica by her many adorers, and with the remarkable honour bestowed upon this Venetian Aspasia by men of distinction and of honourable life, like Tintoretto, Domenico Veniero, and the Veronese prelate Marc' Antonio Della Torre. Henry III, on his journey through Venice, paid a visit, in the quiet of the night, to the lovely courtesan, who was then living at San Giovanni Grisostomo. The young sovereign must have retained a tender memory of his interview, for he took back with him to France a portrait of Veronica in enamel, while she apparently was equally pleased, for she recalls her royal lover in her sonnets:

> In armi e in pace a mille prove esperto,

though she closes with higher aspirations:

> D'alzarmi al ciel da questo stato indegno
> In ch'io mi trovo;

and these she carried into effect. She abandoned her *onorato mestier*, and took to penitence[2]; in 1580 she founded the pious institution of the Soccorso for the shelter of fallen women who repented, and died in 1591.

The life of Veronica Franco is in a certain way paralleled by that of the Roman Tullia d'Aragona, who wove the laurels of a poetess in the yellow veil of the

[1] Marciana, Cl. IX ital., Cod. 173, p. 409.
[2] Gamba, *Lettere di donne italiane nel sec. XVI*, p. 207.

courtesan.[1] She had many admirers, among them Speroni, who introduces her into his *Dialogo dell'amore*, where the speakers are Tullia herself, Bernardo Tasso, Molza, and Nicola Grazia. Tullia puts forward views of extreme freedom, but all of a sudden she is terrified at the thought that she may lose her lover's affection, and she breaks out into a confession: "Io so chi sono, e chi bisognerebbe ch'io fossi per meritare l'amore di lui, ma io cangerò vita, e sarò donna del mio dovere." Then, to comfort her, Nicola Grazia, the gentlest personage in the dialogue, tells her how Antonio Brocardo had written an oration in praise of courtesans, in which he lauds them in such wise that if *Lucretia resuscitasse et l'udisse, ella non menerebbe altra vita.* According to Brocardo, "li costumi cortigianeschi (se quelli ben estimiamo) son via e scala alla cognizione della natura e del cielo; che così come la cortigiana per diverse cagioni suole amar molti e diversi . . . dando ella con buon giudizio il buon del cuore ad un solo, e compiacendosi e trasformandosi in colui solo: così il cielo naturalmente a diverse cose naturalmente fa di sè grazia a qual più ed a qual meno, secondo che alla lor specie è mestieri."[2] The *costumi cortigianeschi* of Venice were the envy of foreign ladies, and M. de Brantôme, in his *Vie des dames galantes*, makes a noble damsel exclaim: "Hélas! si nous eussions fait porter tout notre vaillant en ce lieu-là (Venise) par lettre de banque, et que nous y fussions pour faire cette vie courtisanesque, plaisante et heureuse, à la quelle toute autre ne sçauroint approcher, quand bien nous serions emperières de tout le monde."[3] Tom Coryat wished

[1] *Le rime di Tullia d'Aragona cortigiana del secolo XVI.* Edited by Enrico Celani. Bologna, Romagnoli, 1891. Bongi, *Il velo giallo di Tullia d'Aragona.* Firenze, 1886. Biagi, G., *Un' etéra romana, Tullia d'Aragona.* Firenze, 1897.

[2] Speroni, *Opere*, I, 26. The dialogue sets forth Brocardo's views. Speroni was subsequently smitten with remorse, and wrote an *Orazione contro le Cortigiane*, whom he there calls *monstri infelici.* Ibid., III, 191.

[3] Discours IV, ed. Lalanne. Paris.

to see what one of those world-famous courtesans of Venice was like on close acquaintance. He accordingly paid a visit to one of the most gracious and elegant, Margherita Emiliani. The bizarre writer has introduced into his work a portrait of himself and Margherita, though he takes care to assure his readers that his visit was made not to satisfy his appetites but in the interests of historical research, for *cognitio mali non est mala*. His description of Venetian courtesans is certainly quaint, and as it is but little known, we give it here, though stripped of much that is otiose and worthless.

"Many of them," he says, "live in palaces fit for great princes, and when you enter one of them you seem to be approaching the paradise of Venus. Their rooms are brilliantly lighted and furnished; the walls hung with rich tapestries and stamped leather. . . . The courtesan comes forward to meet you dressed like a queen or the Goddess of Love. . . . Her face is wonderfully beautiful; the lily and the rose wage war on her cheeks; her hair is raised in two points on her head so as to look almost like a pyramid. Her ornaments are so splendid that she at once arouses and captivates your senses, and causes you to lose your wits. You will find her like a second Cleopatra, covered with gold, chains, pearls, rings, diamonds, and other precious stones, with pendants of infinite value in her ears. Her skirt is of damask, with a fine fringe of gold or else of gold lace; the chemise of red taffeta with gold fringes; stockings of red silk; her dress and her whole person perfumed so as to attract you more. Moreover, she will try to fascinate you by drawing sweet melodies from the lute, which she can play like a professor, or else by the tones of her voice, which go straight to your heart. You will find in her (if she is a person of distinction) an elegant conversationalist, and if she does not captivate you by the other arts I have named, she will try the charms of

THOMAS CORYAT and the Venetian Courtesan, Margherita Emiliani—Coryat's "Crudities," Vol. II., reprinted from edition of 1611. (London, 1776)

speech. To complete her sorceries she will subject you to the greatest temptation of all by taking you into her room. Here you will find painted furniture and numberless beautiful objects, a white canopy wrought with needlework, a silk coverlid sewn with gold thread, all breathing most delicious perfumes. Amid all these objects of luxury she will show you one only, and that an object which suggests mortification rather than delight; by her bed — a strange thing to find among all these *irritamenta malorum* — under a glass is a picture of the Madonna with Christ in her arms. When their youthful fire is spent, these women devote themselves to God. After dedicating their youth to the devil, they enter a monastery, where they live comfortably, as they have put by a good sum of money to pay for their keep. If by any chance a child is born to them, — a thing that rarely happens, for the proverb says *i migliori falegnami fanno meno trucioli*, — the creature is either reared at its mother's charges or is sent to one of the homes especially founded for that purpose. I saw these homes in the eastern part of the city near San Marco. In the wall of the house is a grating covering a hole; below is a large flat stone. The hole is just large enough to allow a new-born babe to be shoved in. The mother, or some one on her behalf, brings the babe, and pushes it into the hole, and goes away without a word; but if the babe is too big to go into the hole, she takes it home again and brings it up there as best she can. The boys who come out of the foundling hospital are for the most part enrolled in the army, or go to the arsenal, or serve on board the galleys. Many of the girls, if at all good-looking, imitate their mothers and gain their livelihood as whores."[1]

Montaigne, who visited the lagoons in 1580, made a note on the subject of the Venetian courtesans, "cela

[1] Coryat, *Crudities*, II, 42.

lui sembla autant admirable que nulle autre chose, d'en voir un tel nombre, comme de cent cinquante ou environ, faisant une dépense en meubles et vestemans de princesses; n'ayant autre fons à ses meintenir que de cette trafique."[1] The loose women walked about the streets *si ben ornate et vestite* that they differed in no respect from the patrician ladies; the law intervened to forbid courtesans to wear gold, silver, silk, rings, pearls, and jewels, but only with its usual inefficacy.[2] The luxury in their houses was intended to stir the senses, as Coryat observes. The alcove, with its canopies of satin, was hung with lascivious paintings. The beds were of intarsia work, and had silk coverlids, fine linen sheets, and embroidered pillows. Turkish carpets were on the floors, velvet cushions on the chairs, and all around were tapestries and stamped leather, carved furniture, pictures, statues, and precious vases.[3] They adopted magnificent head-dresses, gloves tanned with Spanish jasmine, or carnations, and, setting the law at defiance, they adorned their persons with brooches, chains, pendants, and diadems. The Senate published decree after decree in its alarm at the increasing number of these women, "le quali, posposta ogni erubescenza et vergogna, pubblicamente vanno per le strade e chiese ad altrove sì ben ornate e vestite, che molte volte le nobili e cittadine nostre, per non essere differenti dal vestire delle dette, non solum dalli forestieri, ma dalli abitanti non conosciute sono le buone dalle triste."[4] In fact, *con scandalo de buoni et mal*

[1] Montaigne, *Giornale del viaggio*, with notes by D'Ancona, pp. 134-135. Città di Castello, 1889.

[2] *Parte presa sopra il vestire et ornamenti di casa de le Meretrice che habitano in questa città.* Venezia, Marcolini, 1542.

[3] "No se parla de le spaliere, d'i tapei, del pavion de damasco, de la cariola indorà, de le casse depente, d'i pavioni bresciani e d'i peltri de cusina; no le investure una sora l'altra è niente; le perle è un fumo; i anelli è una cossa minima." Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 205. Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 598.

[4] Arch. di Stato, *Senato*, February 21, 1543.

esempio de cadauno, the light women were often to be seen in churches at the time of service, without their badge required by law, namely, a yellow handkerchief; they would even sometimes wear the white veil of a young maiden, usually worn by marriageable girls or those *da monacar*.[1] A law of July 11, 1579, condemned courtesans who had transgressed the sumptuary regulations to *star per il meno mesi tre in prigion serrate*.[2]

The laws were severe enough, but the individual magistrates were indulgent. For example, in June of 1532, a certain Vienna, a well-known lady of Venice, was tried for having removed without leave from the foundling hospital a girl whom she afterwards sent back. She was acquitted because, as Sanudo says, "havia uno favor grandissimo di nostri zentilhomeni, ne meritava per questo esser condanada."[3] The seductions of the fair sex were irresistible, and the courtesans took the minutest pains to cultivate their patrimony of beauty. Not only were they to be seen in the streets dressed like great ladies, but they took more particular care of their persons than did the great ladies. They bathed frequently, not only at home, but also in the *stue*, a species of public bath which for the most part was little else than a brothel.[4] The

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Provv. alle pompe*, September 23, 1598.

[2] Lorenzi, *Leggi sulla prostituzione*, cit., p. 11.

[3] Sanudo, *Diarî*, LVI, 397.

[4] Both in Italy and abroad public baths were known as *stufe*. In Venice they were the shops of cheap surgeons and corn-cutters. The bath men (*stueri*) had hot water always ready. Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 815. Malespini, Celio, *Nov.*, Part I, p. 253. Rabutaux, *De la prostit. en Europe*, p. 73. Paris, 1881. In the *Diario del Concilio di Basilea*, written by Andrea Gatari (1433–1435) (edit. Coggiola in *Consilium Basiliense*, p. 382. Basel, 1904), one of these public baths is described. The Emperor Sigismund, along with the Venetian legates, entered Zurich in 1435, "il Ren va per mezo," of the city, "et à dui bellissimi punti che passa Ren, su li quali g'è doe bellissime fontane che zita sempre aqua, et in cavo de uno de questi ponti si è una bellissima loza la quale è longa vargi 30, suso la qualle è una bellissima stuva lunga quanto è la loza, coperta de pietre rosse e verde." The MS. at the Marciana (n. 365, Cl. VII ital.) contains the "*Diario della speditione dell'ill^mo et ecc^mo Alvise da Molin Cav^te alla Corte*

water for the bath was scented with aromatic herbs that gave a delicate perfume to the body, like that which "esce da panni lini de bucato pur allora tratti dal forziere."[1] When the courtesan left her bath, she was carefully dried by her maids, and her body perfumed, her nails polished — we can see the process in some of the pictures representing Susanna and the Elders, where very likely the artist took the opportunity of depicting the physical charms of some celebrated Venetian of light fame. The looking-glass took up many hours, and it was the special duty of waiting-maids to render their mistresses attractive, using cosmetics, and dressing the hair in ringlets, rolls, and tresses, loading the arms with bracelets, the fingers with rings, the ears with pendants, and putting on the most sumptuous raiment.[2] When this elaborate toilette was finished, they would send their pages with notes, full of phrases of affection, to their lovers, signing themselves Ginevra, Virginia, Isabella, Olimpia, Elena, Diana, Livia, Vittoria, Laura, Dovizia, Lavinia, Lucrezia, Stella, Delia, Flora, "per cattivare con la vaghezza dei nomi i cuori giovanili."[3] While awaiting their lovers' arrival, they would seat themselves at the window or on the loggia, surrounded with pet animals, the little dog, *neto e zentil*, which had been taught to stand on its hind legs, that *vuogava con la zata, portava 'n boca un guanto*, and the kitten as white as the driven snow, which lay coiled up at their feet, or the monkey that could play tricks, or the parrot that kept up a ceaseless chatter.[4] Carpaccio has given us a

del Gran Signore (1668)." On p. 71 the author speaks of Jannina, in Turkey, and, describing the city and its manners and customs, he says: "Nel ritorno a casa dessimo un'occhiata ad uno de' loro bagni, che molti e frequentissimi sono nella Turchia, fatti per lavarsi prima dell'orationi loro, che altro non sono se non stuffe in tutto simile alle nostre."

[1] Aretino, *Ragionamenti*, Giorn. III, p. 85, ed. di Bengodi, 1584.

[2] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 599.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 353.

portrait of two of these Venetian courtesans seated on a balcony, gorgeously dressed and surrounded by dogs, doves, flowers, and fruit. They are gazing straight in front of them as though lost in thought, while the sunlight pours upon the high roofs of the houses, and from below rises the noise of the gay streets. Their splendid apartments, heavy with perfumes, were often thrown open for banquets, evening parties, feasts, entertainments, and concerts; if they were not invited out to the houses of the nobles, they received at home, and had private theatricals, balls and suppers — *cosa per opinion mia vergognosa a questa ben istituta repubblica* — says Sanudo.[1] For instance, on the evening of January 27, 1523, at Murano, in the house of Leonardo Giustinian, fifteen of these courtesans, splendidly dressed, were invited to a dance and supper along with several nobles, among whom were the three grave and reverend Procurators of San Marco, a Molin, a Priuli, and a Grimani.[2] On other occasions companies of these women with their men would make for one of the islands of the lagoon, and there, to the sound of lutes and fifes, they would spend the day in the shady alleys, bathing together in the lagoon, and supping late in the evening, when jests and jokes grew free, and the night gave opportunity for still more doubtful adventures.[3] The people, of course, followed the lead of the upper classes; servants copied their masters, and we have the record of a curious entertainment, given on February 14, 1524, in a house at Santa Maria Formosa, by a lot of gentlemen's lacqueys. Each of the men brought his paramour, and they spent the night in singing and dancing.[4]

[1] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXVI, 501.

[2] Ibid., XXXV, 375.

[3] Malespini, Celio (*Nov.*, Part II, p. 22), has described one of these pleasure trips to the Vignole. The character of the man and of the book do not inspire confidence in the veracity of his story; but the details as to Venetian life are both genuine and interesting.

[4] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XXXVII, 578.

It sometimes happened that a man who got mixed up in an intrigue with a woman of this sort, skilled in all the tricks of kisses, *il toccar delle mani, i risi e le dormiture*,[1] would end by bestowing upon her his name; we even find a patrician, now and then, who smirches the honour of his house by such a marriage. That famous courtesan, Cornelia Griffo, so rudely handled by the anonymous poet of the *Tariffa*, though Sanudo calls her *ricca, somptuosa et bellissima meretrice*, must have possessed extraordinary attractions, if she could induce Andrea Michiel to marry her. The wedding took place, in 1526, in the convent of San Giovanni at Torcello.[2]

There were others, again, who did not go the length of marriage, but supplied the means to allow their mistresses to keep gondolas, servants, a sumptuous table, and ended by having their purses "gelded," to use a vulgar but efficacious phrase of Calmo's, and their fortunes ruined;

> Però chi spende 'l so lussurjando
> S'apparecchia d'andar limosinando.[3]

The poet and musician Parabosco learned this to his cost; a courtesan named Polissena had emptied his purse for him, and he bursts out:

> Signora Polissena, il vostro amore
> mi costa fin' a qui tanti quattrini
> ch'a ripensarlo i' vo tutto in sudore.

But Parabosco, the scapegrace, had worse still to complain of; he had fallen in love with a certain Maddalena and tried to win her favours, not with money, but by verse and song; one day, as he was knocking at her door, he received on his head a bucket full of boiling water and ashes, and was scalded and had his clothes ruined.[4]

[1] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 243.
[2] Sanudo, *Diarî*, XLI, 166.
[3] Calmo, *Lettere*, pp. 285, 286.
[4] Bianchini, *G. Parabosco*, p. 17. Bianchini thinks this Maddalena may have been one of the two recorded in the *Catalogo* we have quoted; either

This kind of life degraded love, imperilled the family, and ruined for ever the habits of the young, and even thus early we come across those perfumed and simpering fops, the *zerbini*

Tutti agli odori e a le lascivie intenti,[1]

of whom the finished specimen appears in the eighteenth century. Here is Garzoni's speaking likeness of the type: "Caminan tutto il giorno come ninfati Narcisi, col fiore nelle orecchia, colla rosa in mano, coi suoi guantelli profumati, con la gamba attillata, col passo artificioso, col motto galantino, coll'andar lesto, che paiono Daini di Soria, e qui fermano un tratto, danno un'occhiata, fanno un cenno, tranno un sospiro, salutan sottovoce, si raccomandano alquanto, ricevono un risetto maliziosetto, e allora col farsetto pien di gioia, partono cantando e vanno a comporre una sestina o un madrigaletto."[2] Even the older men were ruled by the caprices of these women, and were prodigal of bows, hand kissing, and compliments *che la Spagna ci haveria perduto*.[3] But the worst feature of all was that the courtesans, as we have seen, received the tribute of honour and respect from men of blameless lives and of remarkable intellect, and even from eminent ecclesiastics. The artistic temperament of the Italians threw a glamour of refinement and grace over vice itself; the æsthetic supplanted the moral judgment; the search for pleasure passed all limits, and voluptuous living surely and steadily, day by day, sapped the energy of the brain and the vigour of the arm.

Maddalena Muschiera e San Lio drio lo gesia piezo bater la porta e andar su. . . . scudi 1, *or* Maddalena de Jacomo de Ormesini a San Simion grando, pieza una so massera . . . scudi 4.

[1] *Tariffa*, p. 62.

[2] Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 700.

[3] Aretino, *Lettere*, I, 193.

APPENDIX

A — LETTERS OF BEATRICE D'ESTE TO LODOVICO SFORZA

I. Illustrissimo Principe et Excell^{mo} signore mio consorte observandissimo. Scripse heri sira ala signoria vostra de la Gionta nostra in Chioza. Questa matina oldite messa in una capella serrata in uno salotto, dove io allogiai, alla quale intervenero li cantori et ne hebbe gran piacere spirituale, facendo meser Cordiere molto bene el debito suo, como fece anchora heri matina che certo l'è una consolatione a sentirlo fora de li altri. Da poi disinassimo et ale XIIII hore montassimo sopra li bucintori, dividendone cum la compagnia sopra lo mezano et picolo et sopra qualche gondole, che erano preparate per andare più sicuro, perche el tempo era pur anchora al quanto turbido. La illustrissima Madona mia matre, se redusse sopra lo Bucintoro picolo cum lo illustre signor Don Alphonso, madona Anna et me et alcuni pochissimi servitori: li altri de done et homini da comto restarono nel Bucintoro mezano et in alcune altre gondole, et io montai anchora da puoi sopra un altra gondola cum lo Signor Hieronymo, meser Vesconte et alcuni altri pochi per allezerire el bucintoro picolo et andare nui più conzi, como ogniuno diceva che andariamo. Così posti a camino arrivassimo al porto de Chioza, dove cominzando ballare le nave, io haveva grande piacere a vederle et per gratia de Dio non hebbe una alteratione al mundo. Ma scio dire alla signoria vostra che li fu in la compagnia che temetteno molto bene, tra li quali fuo el cavalero Ursino, Nicolò di Nigri, madona Helisabet: et anchora el signor Hieronimo, benchè fusse stato sobrio, temeti anchora lui, ma niuno ha reso concto de questi excepto madona Helisabet al porto de Malamocho et lo cavalero Ursino. De li altri et maxime de le done mie aviso la signoria vostra che la magiore parte resano concto.

Hora in questo caminare, lo tempo se andò conzando tanto che assai a bonhora gionsimo alla terra de Malamocho. Qui trovassimo circa XXIIII zentilhomeni, cum tri piatti molto ben parati et posti ad ordine: cum quelli che potevano stare in uno piatto intrassimo in uno benissimo parato et assettati honorevolmente in popa. Essendo alcuni deli zentilhomini intrati nel piatto nostro, uno meser Francesco Chapello vestito d'uno manto grande a la guisa sua de brocato bianco raro de figure d'oro, hebbe una oratione de questa sententia che havendo la illustrissima signoria sentito la venuta della signoria vostra a Ferrara per demonstrarli l'amore li porta, li haveva mandato duy ambassatori a visitarla, poi sentendo la venuta de la ill.^{ma} madona mia matre et mia a Venetia, haveva mandato a Chioza quelli altri zentilhomini per fare medesmo officio et successivamente per demonstrare

magiore amore, haveva mandato loro a Malamocho per receverne et significare el gran piacere haveva la illustrissima signoria de la venuta nostra, la quale se testificarebe cum li effecti, notificando como lo illus.° principe et la signoria venivano in contra cum gran numero de matrone per receverne, abrazarne et honorarne et appresso fece amplissime offerte. La ill.ª madona mia matre usò grande modestia cignando ch'io respondesse et secondo mi pareva debito coletì che la dicesse cum proposito de dire anchora io qualche cosa. Ma non hebbe più presto fornito de parlare la signoria sua che comenzando a quello hebbe la oratione et puoi li altri corsino a toccare la mane, come fecero el giorno inante, in modo non pote' fare quello era lo desiderio mio se non per demonstrazione.

Se inviassimo verso Venetia ed inante che giongessimo a santo Clemente, dove lo Ill.mo principe ne expectava, ne venetino in contra dui palaschermi molto bene in ordine, quali ne salutarono cum trumbetti et schioppi de bombarda et dreto a quelli venevano due fuste armate a tuta bataglia, cum alcune altre barche ornate a zardino che facevano uno grande et bello vedere. Infinite barche de done et homini tutavia comparevano quali ne accompagnorono a santo Clemente: qui trovassimo uno grande pavilione coperto de panno, dovi smontassimo et essendo li vicino lo ill.mo Principe che ne expectava cum lo Bucintoro suo, epso smontò cum la signoria et venetine in contra fin al mezo del pavilione, dove ne recevete cum queste parole che fussimo le ben venute si como eramo anchora grandemente desiderate et che li illustrissimi signori Duca mio Padre et la signoria vostra non li poriano havere facto magiore piacere como a mandarne, et che como padre ne vedeva volontera, como se vedano le fiole remettendose poi a dire più oltra quanto li occorreria per declararne l'amore chel ne porta. Fuo per la Ill.ma Madonna mia matre et per me rengraciata la Excellentia Sua cum parole conveniente; et così aviandose puoi per intrare al Bucintoro, lo ill.mo principe pigliò la ill.ma dona mia matre a mane drita et me a man senestra et la illustrissima madona Anna apresso a me et apresso ala illustrissima madona mia matre el marchese de Mantua et lo signor Don Alphonso quale marchese comparse cum el principe, et così venendo sopra lo Bucintoro andassimo la illustrissima madonna mia matre io et madona Anna per due schiere de damiselle dreto al Principe tocando la mane a tute, poi assettati in popa cum medesimo ordine che intrassimo tutte le donne de la compagnia andorno a tochare la mane al Principe ed assettate se missemo a camino, nel quale comparseno poi altre galee ornatissime, fuste, barche et barchete infinite, et fra l'altre comparse una fusta che ha in popa la rapresentazione de Neptuno et Minerva, assettati, Neptuno cum lo tridenti in mano, Minerva cum el dardo, per scontro li era un monte quale haveva in cima una rocha, sopra la quale erano l'arma del Papa de lo illustrissimo signore nostro et de la signoria vostra et de la illustrissima signoria. Saltò Neptuno cum balli et scambiette sonando alcuni tamburini et ballato uno pezo cum scambietti, vene poi dreto Minerva facendo il simile, et accostandose ballorono insiema: poi Minerva dedi del dardo nel monte et

salite fora una oliva: Neptuno dedi del tridente et salito fora uno cavalo. Ce erano alcuni alato al monte cum libri quali significaveno el judicio se doveva dare del nome se haveva mettere a la cità principiata in quello monte, et fu judicato in favore de Minerva, et però se conclude questa representatione che cum la unione de la pace se mantengano li stati et però spectare a chi fa simili effecti el ponerli el nome, como Minerva pose a quella nominandola Athene dove fu el fundamento del studio secundo se dice.

Passando più inante comparsino altre galee fuste, et barche pur bene ornate, fra le quale era una galea armata de Milanesi cum uno moro in sedia, cum un'arma in mano a guisa d'una aza et tarchoni Ducali et de la signoria vostra cum bandere attacate ala prora et popa. In cerca al qual moro erano la sapientia cum el sexto in mano, la forteza, temperanza et justicia, li quali feceno bellissimo spectaculo cum tirare de schiopetti bombarde et raze chel era una grande zentileza.

Apresso li erano molte barche ben ornate facte da tute le arte, che representavano li suoi esercitij e facevano uno bel vedere et così entrassimo nel canale grande ove lo illustrissimo Principe, ultra che già havesse comminciato ad usare gran domisticheza cum nui parlando de diverse cose, haveva gran piacere in mostrarne li Palatij de questa cità et in spetie le damiselle, le quale oltra 130 erano nel bucintoro ornatissime de infinite gioye stavano ale fenestre, tutte anchora loro ben ornate et certo era stupendissima cosa a vedere, et tutte le altre cose notabile fin che giungessimo al palazo de lo illustrissimo signor mio patre, dovi siamo allozati et qui volse el Principe montare et accompagnarne fin alla camera, benchè la illustrissima madona mia matre et io ricusassimo assai. Trovassimo tutto el palazo tutto coperto de tapezaria et cum molte arme Ducale et de la signoria vostra et li celi coperti de panni de raza. In le camere et in le sale de panni alla sforcesca, in modo che de bona ciera, de compagnia, de apparati non si poria desiderare meglio.

Questa sira sono poi venuti tri zentilhomini a visitarne in nome de la signoria, offerendo tanto largamente che più non se porria dire per piacere et commodo mio.

Domatina se è tolto posta de l'audientia de quello seguirà più oltra ne avisarò la signoria vostra, alla quale me ricomando. Venetiis XXVII May 1493.

Excellentiae Vestrae

consors cordialissima
Beatrix Sfortia Vicecomes etc.

II. Illustrissimo ed excellentissimo signore mio consorte observandissimo. Sequitando l'ordine in significare alla excellentia vostra tuto quello che a dì per dì mi occorre, l'aviso como questa matina la Illustrissima madona mia matre, el signore Don Alphonso, Mª Anna ed io cum tuta la compagnia se ponessimo a camino per andare ad oldire la messa a Santo Marco, dove el principe ne haveva invitati cum li nostri cantori et per monstrarne el

thesoro: ma inante giongessimo a Santo Marco, smontassimo in terra a Realto et a pede ne andassimo per queste strade, che sono marzarie, dove trovassimo le boteche de spiciaria, de setta tute ben in ordine et per qualità et per quantità grandissima de diverse cose et così de le altre arte che facevano uno gran bel vedere, per modo che ne facevano sovenzo demorare per vedere hora una cosa hora un altra, e non ce rincresceti niente fin a Santo Marco, dove gionti che fussimo sonando li trumbeti nostri sopra la chiesa ad una logia denante trovassimo el principe che ce venete in contra presso la porta de Santo Marco et postosi in mezo de la Illus^ma^ madona mia madre et mi, secondo l'ordine servato altrevolte, ne condusse al altare dove trovassimo el sacerdote ben parato, cum el quale ingienochiati el principe et nui se disse la confessione, poi andassimo alle sedie ordinate et oldissimo la messa, quale dal sacerdote fu cantata solemnemente cum li altri ministri soi, et li cantori nostri la ornarono piacendo molto al principe et a tutti li altri el cantare loro et in specie de Cordiero, el quale ha sempre posto grande studio de ben satisfare al honore de la signoria vostra. Fornita la messa se aviassimo pur col principe al loco del thesoro, nel quale loco per la grande multitudine del populo che era concorso como era anchora per le strate, durassimo la magior fatica del mundo a intrare non valendo chel se facesse ogni cosa per fare dare loco cridando fin al principe, el quale principe per la gran spinta fu forza ne abandonasse et ne lassasse intrare nui cum pochi che fui poi anchora cum gran faticha. Intrati vedessimo a cosa per cosa el thesoro, che ne fu de gran piacere et per esserli infinite et belle gioje cum alcuni dignissimi vasi. Usciti andassimo per la piaza de Santo Marco sopra le boteche de la fera, dove trovassimo tanta copia de vetri belli che l'hera uno stupore, et qui ne fu forza demorare gran pezo et vedendo che l'hora se faceva tarda se aviassimo a casa a disnare che erano XVII hore. Io era vestita de la veste de panno morello recamato cun li pecti reversati che havevano el caduceo; haveva el vezo de perle a collo et lo robino in pecto a le quali gioie, et in ispetie al rubino, se guardava tanto et si parlava cum dire "quello ha posto l'uno dì, non ha posto l'altro"; che ce fu de quelli che mi missano quasi l'ochi fin sopra el pecto per guardarlo, et vedendo, tanta anxieta, io li disse dovessino venire a casa che gli lo monstraria voluntera. Questo è quello in che se è consumato questa matina; poso disnare, andaremo a la festa ordinata in palazo et del seguito ne avisarò la Excellentia Vostra, a la quale me recomando. — Venecijs; XXX maij, 1493.

Excell. vestrae consors cordialissima
Beatrix Sfortia Vicecomes etc.

(a tergo): Il.^mo^ principe et excell. domino et consorti meo observandissimo domino Lodovico Me Sfortie Vicecomti etc. ubi sit cito.

III. Illustrissimo ed Exmo signor mio consorte observandissimo. Repossati un poco poso el desnare veneteno molti zentilhomini a levarne, per

accompagnarne a Palazo a la festa, et così ordinatamente se inviassimo sopra li piatti; et gionti al Palazo, foromo accompagnati a la salla grande, dove era in testa uno tribunale grande che faceva due alle dreto al muro al longo de la salla, et nel mezo de la salla era uno tribunale quadro facto per ballarli, et fare le representatione se feceno. Montati sopra lo tribunale grande trovassimo gran numero de zentildone venetiane, quale se dice erano 134 tute bene ornate de gioje. Al alla da mano drita al intrare suso era el signore de la Compagnia de li Potenti sopra una sedia cum lo testale de brocato d'oro rizo, dove sedeva appresso el signor Don Alphonso a mano drita per essere de la compagnia. Nuy andassimo a sedere a l'altra alla, mandando madona Anna a star appresso el signor de la compagnia. El Princioe non li interveneti per non sentirse gagliardo a stare a queste simile feste, ma lassò uno messer Constantino Privolo, quale tenete el loco suo, questo è de la signoria el più vecchio. El principio de la festa fu de ballare quelle zentildone, tre o quattro per volta; poy recercandosi che facessimo ballare qualchune de le nostre cum li nostri, li compiacessimo per demostrare domestichezza, et così ballò el Contino, Hieronymo da Figino ed alcuni altri. De le done ballò la mogliere del conte Francesco Sforza, le fiole de messer Sigismondo, et de messer Raynaldo, et alcune altre. In questo ballare per el gran caldo faceva et per sentirne alquanto grave la testa cum uno poco de dolore ne la golla, mi levai et redussime in una camera dove repossay una hora. Poi tornai sopra la festa, dove facendose sira, apizate 100 torze sopra legni ataccati al celo, fu facto una representatione, in la quale comparsino dui animali grandi cum due gran corne in testa, et sopra cavalcava uno travestito per ciaschuno molto adorno cum una balla d'oro in mane, che pareva una copa coperta facta a foglie; dreto questi duy, comparse uno caro triumphale sopra el quale era la Justitia cum la spata in mane; al mezo de la quale spata era uno breve che diceva concordia ed era cinto d'una palma ed oliva. Poso luy sopra lo medesmo caro era uno bove cum li pede levati in mezo d'uno Santo Marco, et de la bissa; ad uno archivolto facto de verdura era sopra la cima una testa de Moro cincta da la palma, et da la oliva che emineva sopra el bove Santo Marco et bissa. Questo significava la lega como può bene intendere la S. V. et como in ogni ragionamento el Principe et questi gentilhomini fano la S. V. auctore de la pace et tranquilità de Italia; così l'hanno expresso in questa demonstratione ponendola sopra quello archivolto sopra l'altri. Dreto questo caro erano duy serpenti, a cavalo di quali erano duy altri zoveni che stavano como li primi; questi tuti se cundussino al tribunale quale era nel mezo de la salla, et smontati feceno molti belli balli stando la justicia in mezo, et ballato un pezo, nel ballare reusciti schiopi cum foco da quelle balle, quale aprendose demonstrarono in epse uno bove, uno lione, una bissa, et una testa de moro, et cum epsi continuarono el ballare stando sempre la justicia in mezo, al quale posto fine comparse la collatione cum sono de trombeti accompagnata da infinite torche. Prima comparse sopra d'uno asse lo Papa, el Principe, et lo duca de Milano cum le arme loro, et

quelle de la signoria vostra, poi Santo Marco deinde la bissa et lo diamante e tante altre representatione de diverse cose tute lavorate de zucharo dorate che facevano el numero de 300 cum infiniti piatti de confectione, et cope da bevere in mezo, li quali tuti se destenderono per la salla che fu uno bellissimo spectaculo.

Tra le altre cose gli era el Papa cum X cardinali quali si diceva è a prophetia de X cardinali quali faria domane, el Papa: fu poi portato desopra la collatione cum molti de quelli triumphi di quali ne furono tolti molti, et a me tochò el Papa cum el Duce et Duca de Milano. Fornita a collatione, veneti un altra representatione de duy sopra le due serpe, et uno posto sopra una barca sopra uno carro triumphale cum una lettera in una bachetta, quale andò al signore de la compagnia, et smontato li presentò la lettera poi gli la remisse, et tornò fora de la salla remontato ne la barcha seguendo li altri dui. Questo se dice essere uno Araldo; stato uno pezo, comparse un altra volta el carro triumphale de la lega nel modo dicto de sopra, et dreto erano quatro giganti, lo primo haveva in mane uno corno facto a verdura cum fructi in cima, li duy seguenti havevano duy baston in mano, l'uno aveva atacato una balla d'argento e l'altro due balle d'oro, se dicano duy mazafusti, lo quarto era como el primo cum el corno de l'abondantia in mane. Dopo questi seguirono quatro animali a modo de chimere, quali havevano suso uattro mori nudi, l'uno sonava duy tamborini; li duy sonavano cum battere alcuni ferrini, l'altro de battere le mani. Dreto questi venerono quatro carri triumphali, in l'uno de li quali era Diana, in l'altro era la Morte, in l'altro la matre de Meleagro, in un altro erano alcuni altri cum arme in mano; sopra questi carri erano da 4 a 5 persone per ciascuno, et tuti erano facti per representare la vita de Meleagro, qual cum balli fu representata dal nascimento fin alla morte molto dignamente. El dire tuta la fabula saria molto longo. Joanneiacobo Gilino gli la saperà recitare; cum questo fu posto fine a la festa. Et montati in barca sonorono le 4 hore inanze fussimo a casa. Io haveva appresso el vescovo quale per piacerli puoco el stare a tanto caldo quanto faceva in quella salla cum el menare le cose in longo, me faceva ridere tanto quanto ridesse may, et io per haverne magiore festa diceva sempre che anchora ce ne era, et che l'andava fine a dì, per modo mi fu de tanto piacere el sentirlo lamentare et vedere como si stendeva mò sopra uno lato, mò sopra l'altro, dicendo luy "io ho rangato le gambe; quando haverà mai fine questa festa, may piu non ce vengo" che tanto me delettò quanto la festa. Venuti a casa, cenai sobriamente, et poy andai a dormire che erano sei ore.

El vestire de poso disnare fu de Tabì d'oro incarnato; et la schifia de gioye in testa, lo veceto de perle cum lo Marone pendente. Recomandomi a la S. V.

Venetiis, xxx May 1493.

Excellentie Vestre

Consors cordialissima Beatrix Sfortia Vicecomes etc.

(A tergo) Illustrissimo Principi et ex^mo Domino Consorti meo observandissimo Domino Ludovico Marie Sfortie, etc.

Ubi sit, cito, cito.

IV. Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Signore mio consorte observandissimo. Questo poso disnare siamo andati a Palazo accompagnati honorevolmente da molti zentilhomini veniciani per vedere el Consilio Grande, et essendo guidati alla salla grande, al mezo d'epsa salla trovassimo el principe, quale era disceso dal loco suo per venirne a recevere et così ne accompagnò al Tribunale, dove sedessimo secondo l'ordine de l'altre volte et comenzorono el Consilio in dare via dui officij che non è stato altro cha balotare per diversi modi. Fornito questo consiglio la illustrissima madona mia matre ringratiò lo principe deli honori ricevuti tolendo licentia, et io doppo la signoria soa fece el medesmo così per quello mi ha scripto la excellentia vostra commo per quello che cognosceva essere debito mio de fare, offerendomi ali comandi suoi commo fiola. Respose el principe che non bisognava la ringraziasse perchè havevano facto quello spectava al patre verso la fiola, excusando se in alcuna cosa si fosse mancato et pregando non se imputasse a loro ma ali ministri, extendendosi che la volontà sua non porria essere stata ne essere meliore, et qui replicò l'amore paterno quale portano alo illust.^mo signore, alla excellentia vostra et a me offerendose de novo per el stato, per le persone et per lo governo dela Signoria Vostra, cum parole molto larghe, imponendomi che salutasse et confortasse la signoria vostra a vivere de bono animo, et che la signoria soa acceptava le offerte mie et le usaria ali bisogni facendone capitale. Per me li fu ancora replicate alcune parole a proposito dele sue. Avisando però la Excellentia Vostra commo el dicto principe già inante che se tolesse licentia usò molte amorevole parole dela Signoria Vostra cum mi dicendo la dovesse confortare et salutare el che la dovesse havere bona cura de la persona sua. Li Consiglieri se presentarono ancora loro et monsignore de Commo molto accomodatamente fece el ringratiamento suo repetendo le offerte commo se convene et tolendo licentia. Per el principe fu ancora resposto copiosamente commo sera ben fare in consonantie de quello disse a me, el che non replicarò altramente per non fastidire la Excellentia Vostra.

Se levò puoj el principe et nuij insiema et ne accompagnò fin de sotto de due scalle et qui tocatone la mane ne lassò. Siamo puoi andati a visitare la regina de Cipri a Morano, dove ne ha ricevuto cum honore et datone una bella collatione. Havemo ancora visitato el corpo de sancta Lucia et così habiamo fornito la giornata de hogi et domane cum la gratia de Dio ale XI ore se metterimo a camino. De novo ne dice messer Thadeo havere inteso commo l'ambasciatore del re de Franza si è gravemente doluto de quello corsaro quale fu facto morire per questa ill.^ma Signoria et appresso haveva sentito essergli lettera de Hispania per via de mercadanti, per la quale se avisa commo el tratato de la pace fra el re de Hispania et re de Franza se era resolto in nulla et partiti li ambassadori discordi. A la querela

facta del corsaro pare che la illustrissima signoria abbia resposto commo l'havevano possuto fare per haverlo trovato in fragrante crimine et haverlo preso nel mare suo. Ricomandandomi ala Excellentia Vostra, Venetiis 2 Junij 1493.

Illustrissime dominationis Vestre
Consors Beatrix Sfortia.

(A tergo) Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino consorti meo observandissimo domino Ludovico Marie Sfortie, etc.
Ubi sit cito cito.

(*Milano, Archivio di Stato — Potenze sovrane: Beatrice d'Este.*)

B — INVENTORIES

I

Inventario Badoer

In christi nomine amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo die decimo septimo augusti, indictione vero nona. Dominus Augustinus Baduario filius magnifici domini Alouixij tamquam solus commissarius quondam magnifici domini Sebastiani Baduario eius patrui. Volens satisfacere conscientie sue et honori, et legibus rogavit me notarium infrascriptum ut de bonis commissarie dicti domini Sebastiani publicum conficerem inventarium. Ideo sic scribam et annotabo.

In una casseta de nogara; in uno sacheto de tela rosa fo trovadi ducati quatrocento d'oro tra venitiani et ongari.
Item in uno altro sacheto ducati otantaoto fra dopioni et fiorini.
Item taze de arzento de liga cipriota cum piedi numero sie.
Item bocali darzento cum piedi et manego de dita liga numero do.
Item una dozena de cuslier de arzento de dita liga.
Item pironi de dita liga d'arzento numero quindeze.
Item una corteliera darzento bresan fornida et nuova.
Item corteli bresani uxadi numero undexe.
Item leti numero quatro de lana cipriota, zoe stramazi.
Item cusini de piuma numero do.
Item una coltra uxada listada zala et roanna de botana.
Item do coltre bianche de botana una grande et una pizola.
Item do coltre da fameja vechie.
Item uno moscheto de botana uxado.
Item nenzuoli de tella para numero sie fra novi et vechi.
Item uno mantil de rens uxado de braza sie.
Item mantileti da tavola numero quatro.

Item tovaioli numero sie.
Item fazuoli da man numero sie.
Item intimele para numero quatro.
Item fazoleti de naso numero sie.
Item tovaie uxade numero do.
Item uno tapedo da tavola con tre ruode, braza cinque.
Item tapedi a moscheti de lana grosa numero oto nuovi.
Item tapedi usadi da moda numero sete.
Item una felzada barbaresca rosa et vechia.
Item do cortine de tela rosa dorade cum l'arme.
Item uno saion de damaschin negro fodra de cavreti negri.
Item una ongaresca roanna fodra de volpe.
Item una fodra vechia de cendà rosa de meza torta.
Item uno beco de scarlato vechio.
Item uno beco de veludo cremexin vechio.
Item do pezi de spaliere de panno verde.
Item sechi de rame numero quatro.
Item una concha de rame.
Item una caza de lesia, et una de aqua de rame.
Item una caldiera da lesia de sechi sete et una de do sechi.
Item padele cum suoi coerchi de rame numero tre.
Item una calderuola de mezo sechio.
Item fersore numero do.
Item cadene da fuogo numero do.
Item do spedi de rostir uno grando et uno pizolo.
Item uno rampegon de fero.
Item uno paro de cavedoni con suoi fornimenti de laton.
Item uno paro de cavedoni de fero con suo fornimento.
Item lavezi de piera numero tre.
Item albuolo, concolo, arzela, tamiso o burato.
Item uno scagno de nogara zoè desco.
Item cariege de nogara numero oto.
Item casse rose numero quatro, verde numero do, forcieri numero do vechij.
Item una credenza granda, et una credenciera vechia.
Item banche da portego numero quatro.
Item do scagni da manzar suxo.
Item uno homo de legno.
Item uno quadro de nostra dona.
Item uno sechieleto de laton, con sua cazeta.
Item uno bacil et uno ramin de laton.
Item candelieri de laton numero sie.
Item tre bote vuode.
Item tre carateli, et do mezaruole vuode.
Item tre masteli un grando et do pizoli.
Item cesti, piadene de piera, taieri de legno, et caze.

Item cuslieri de laton numero 6.
Item uno scaldaleto, et uno scaldapie.
Item sacchi de canevaza uxadi numero sie.
Item uno colador da lizia.

Omissis

L.S. Ego presbiter bernardus zio sancti hieremie plebanus imperiali auctoritate et venetiarum notarius suprascriptis omnibus interfui, et rogatus scripsi signo meo consueto apposito.

(*Venezia, Archivio Notarile — Filza* I^a *Inventari, Cassa* VIII, *Cassetta* 4).

II

Inventario Marcello

Die 12 octobris 1534.

Nobilis domina Clara relicta viri nobilis domini Joannis Francisci Marcello q.^m domini Antonii, postquam comprobabit de sua dote et repromissa cum sua vadimony carta quod est de ducatis quinque millibus sub die X^ma septembris proxime elapsi, presentavit legi bona infrascripta, videlicet.

Et primo . Letti de diverse sorte n.° quatordese — Cusini de diverse sorte n.° XI computando do de lana, un altro cusin — Stramazi grandi n.° sie computando do de pello sie tapedi cimiscasa picoli — Tapedi de diverse sorte turcheschi n.° dodese, et uno grando da tavola vecchi — Un covertor de raso cremisin fodra de vari et dossi — Un covertor de panno de Fiandra de mosto valiei cum un garzo de raso verde fodrade de vari et dossi — Una coverta da letto de ormesin turchin cum ormesin rosso intorno fodra de tella — Una coltra de ormesin cremesin lavorada de oro pendente cum le sue cortine et squazaron a oro mordente, una coltra de chamocha verde imbotida cum cortine, et squazaron — Un tornoleto de bochasin biancho lavorado de franze negre cum sua coverta da leto, et octo cortine, et suo banchaleto et cinque squazaroni — Coltrine de bochasin biancho, et tornoleto pezi n.° nuove de diverse sorte, do banchaleti de bochasin biancho, squazaroni de diverse sorte num.° dodese — Sette pezi de coltrine over tornoleto de sarza verde cum un squazaron, una coverta da letto de sarza verde — Cinque pezi de sarza verde vecchi de diverse sorte — Squazaroni de diverse sorte n.° nuove vecchi — Un pavion de tella biancha vecchio cum suo capello lavorado ala morescha — Un per de coltrine de sarza negra — Coltrine de bochasin, et tella verde n.° sette — Un duliman de panno paonazo volta dreto roverso — Una carpeta de panno biancho cum alguni cordoni intorno — Una antiporta a broche — Do antiporte a verdure vecchie — Un razo a verdure vecchie — Tre banchali de spaliere de razo vecchi strazadi — Un per de spaliere a verdure basse — Un pezeto simile de braza tre — Un per de spaliere in tre pezi a broche vecchi — Tre cavezi de panni

divisadi — Una coverta da careta de panno paonazo fodra dreto roverso — Una coltra biava vecchia — Coltre de tella bochasin vecchie imbotide verde et biava n.° octo, computa una smembra — Do felzade rosse vecchie — Un bernusso carnason vecchio — Coltre bianche de diverse sorte de bochasin et tella, et una meza coltra vecchia straza bianche n.° sette — Do coverte de cordola bianche — Una coltra de tella biava imbotida — Tre camisoti bianchi vecchi, un covertor de panno lactao ugnolo, un altro rosso fodra de pelle agneline vecchi — Do covertori de pelle agneline vecchi, do schiavine vecchie — Bandiere de stamegna depente n.° nuove — Colli de canevaza over sachi n.° quindese — Un per de ninzuoli sottili de tella cambra cum trinelle et cordelle intorno — Un per de ninzuoli de tella sotilli — Ninzuoli de diverse sorte pera n.° diese vecchi — Item ninzuoli de diverse sorta pera n.° diese grossi — Ninzuoli de diverse sorte pera do et mezo grossi vecchi et strazadi — Un mantil de rens de braza diese alto quarte diese — Do Mantilli de braza octo alte quarte 8 de rens — Mantili de renso grossi de diverse sorte n.° diese — Un mantil de credenziera de braza quatro de rens alte q.e 8 — Tovaglie de diverse sorte de rens num.° nuove — Do mantili de rens vecchi strazadi — Sie mantili de terlise vecchi — Tovaglioli de diverse sorte de rens num.° vintiuno — Tre ninzoleti da cuna de rens lavoradi cum aze ruzene — Do paneseli de rens lavoradi d'aze ruzene — Do paneseli de fostagno bianco — Un petoral over corparuol divisado — Un altro corparuol divisado — Uno camisuol da puto — Quatro fazuoli da spechio lavoradi de diverse sorte — Sie faxuoli de tella grandi vecchi — Intemele de diverse sorte pera num.° diese et meza — Un banchaleto da letto de bochasin bianco — Una carpeta de lisaro da fantolin — Una peza de bochasin bianco de levante de braza vintido — Un cavezo de bochasin da levante de braza quindese — Do pera de intimele de cambra lavorade non compide — Un fazuol de lisaro cum cum sui cai a la morescha — Una fassa de tella cambra lavora — Pomoli de intemele n.° dodese una lira de bavele filla grosse — Un quadro de una cena in tella — Un quadro de una Europpa — Un rastello grando indorado cum un spechio de vero dentro dicto restello cum algune figure — Una testa d'un Cristo indorado — Tre quareti picoli — Peltri de diverse sorte lire dusento e ottantacinque netti de tara — Un quadro in una anchona, de nostra Donna indorado a l'antiga — Un spechio picolo de vero indorado — Un restello picolo indorado — Una anchora de ferro da barcha — Uno cesendello ala damaschina cum el suo cesendello — Do candelieri ala damaschina — Quattro casse depente cum l'arma Marzella — Un scrigno de nogera ferrado de dentro — Cinque casse depente de diverse sorte — Una meza cassa — Un forcier pelloso picolo — Do caselete de nogera da scritture — Un' altra caseleta intarsiada vecchia — Do scuele de porcelana — Tre altre piadene de maiolica beretine — Un gotto de vero lavorado — Un perfumego lavorado ala damaschina in pomo — Un per de tollele de avolio fornide darzento — Un cortello con el manego de pese con suo piron et vazina fornida darzento — Uno busolo lavorado alla damaschina — Do bandinel de cendado

cremesin con la sua arma Marcella — Un pugnaleto picolo da puto — Do vazine cum un poco de arzento — Una tasca de cuoro all'antiga cum un poco d'arzento — Una piera sacra da altar — Una centura veludo con suo cao et fiuba et passeti n.° quatro — Un'altra centura veludo streta cum uno cao et fiuba et passeti sette — Una centura de rasso cum suo cao et fiuba cum cinque passetti — Un'altra centura veludo cum cinque passetti soli — Uno forceretto picolo — Libri de diverse sorte a stampa n.° diese — Do balanzine picole de laton — Do balanzine picole d'arzento da pesar arzento — Do penaruoli tondi — Sie casse depente fente de nogera — Una cassa grande depenta — Un forcier depento — Uno scagno de nogera vecchio — Do forzieri depenti cum larma Marzella da capo — Tre casse bianche — Un'altra picolla biancha — Do casselle bianche picolle — Un'altra vecchia rotta depenta — Una cassella d'ancipresso — Un'altra cassa depenta — Do casse depente bone — Uno arcil grando — Una arcella grande — Tre tavole de diverse sorte cum i sui trespedi — Un'altra tavola — Cariege de deverse sorte vecchie e rotte n.° quatordese — Cariege de pagia n.° sette — Mesolere n.° sie de più sorte — Un per de cassellete da banco da letto depente — Un altro per de cassellete indorade da banco da letto — Uno per de cavaletti con le sue tavole da dormir suso — Item tre altre mesolere — Quatro celadoni et tre brazali — Una roncha ed una partezana — Una corazina coverta de cuoro — Uno zacho coverto de damaschin al'antiga cum sui brazaleti — Uno fornimento da mulla de veludo vecchio — Cinque scagni depenti vecchi — Tre botte et do meze botte, et una brila quali sono alla villa — Un rampegon grando — Uno picolo — Do tre pie grandi et uno picollo — Cinque sechii de rame — Una caza de rame — Do altri sechii de rame et un picolo — Una concha de rame — Un'altra conca de rame — Un'altra caza de rame d'aqua — Un'altra caza de rame — Do scaldaleti — Quatro pera de cavedoni de laton cum i suoi fornimenti videlicet do molete et una forcha — Tre pera de cavedoni de ferro tra grandi et picoli — Tre sechieletti de laton con do cazete — Uno sechieleto d'aqua sancta de laton — Un bazil da barbier da laton — Do bacili de laton — Sette candelieri de latton — Caldiere picole de rame de diverse sorte n.° cinque — Sie stagnade de rame de diverse sorte — Una cuogoma de rame — Quatro cadene da fuogo — Tre lavezi de terra do grandi et un picolo — Un lambico de rame — Una fogera de rame — Quatro fersore, computà una sbusa — Do paele de rame — Intiani num.° 14 de rame — Do grattacase — Item una picola — Quatro spei — Item un altro picolo, tra grandi et picolli — Una paleta da fuogo — Una pestaruola cum quatro ferri da pestar — Do gradelle — Do morteri de piera con sue masse — Una stagiera — Uno lucetto — Tre pallete da frizer — Tre altre case — Una lume — Una saliera da sal — Nuove tagieri de legno — Alguni ferri da caretta — Do naspi — Un pe de corlo — Do concoli et do albuoli — Una gramolla vechia — Do piteri da ogio de terra — Un piter picollo da aqua de terra — Mastelli n.° sette tra grandi et picolli et quatro tavolle.

Fuit vir nobilis D. Joannes Venerio judex.

Fuerunt estimatores ser Ioannes Maria a barba Tartarus de Bricia ellectus ex parte Virorum nobilium dominorum Marci et Antonii Marcello et ser Dominicus strazarolus preco ex parte suprascripte mulieris.

Que omnia bona estimata fuerunt auris ducatis quingentis et viginti pro parte eius dotis videlicet duc. 520.

(*Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Proprio-Mobili reg. 5, c. 370, IV segg.*)

III

Inventario della Bottega del Mercante di Seta P. N. De Bracci

In Christi Nomine Amen.

Anno Nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo die vero Veneris quinto mensis Novembris indictione tertio decima. Inventarium rerum, et bonorum apothece a serico de ratione quondam honorabilis Viri ser Pascalis Nicolai de Brachiis a serico posite in Rivoalto, factum et descriptum per me Bonifacium Solianum notarium ad instantiam Domine Lucretie uxoris ser Yoannis Petri Vita sororis, et tanquam Comissarie ex testamento eiusdem quondam ser Pascalis rogato penes me Notarium sub die 14 mensis settembris MDXXXVII ibidem presentis et requirentis etiam premisso signo ✠ sequitur ut infra.

Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª 11000	de b.ª	73 ½
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª 10500	de "	78 —
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª 11000	de "	52 —
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª 11500	de "	72 —
Una pezza pe Raso Cremesin m.ª 12000	de "	74 ¼
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª 10500	de "	75 ½
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin m.ª	de "	68 ¾
Una pezza de Raso Cremesin	de "	72 ½
Item una pezza de Raso Cremesin non conza m.ª 10500 .	de "	79 ½
Una pezza de Raso C. non conza m.ª 11000	de "	72 —
Una pezza de Raso C. non conza m.ª 11000	de "	74 ½
Una pezza de Raso C. non conza m.ª 10000	de "	74 —
Una pezza de Raso C. non conza m.ª 11500	de "	74 —
Item una pezza de Raso Pavonazzo Cremesin non conza m.ª 9900	de "	79 —
Un Cavezzo de Raso Paonazzo Cremesin non conza m.ª 10000	de "	55 —
Una pezza de Raso Paonazzo Cremesin non conza m.ª 9000	de "	74 ¼
Una pezza de Raso Paonazzo Cremesin non conza m.ª 11500	de "	70 —
Una pezza de Raso Paonazzo Cremesin non conza m.ª 10000	de "	78 —
Una pezza de Raso Paonazzo Cremesin m.ª 9500 . . .	de "	73 ½

Una pezza de Raso negro conza m.ª 10000	de b.ª	70 —
Una pezza de Raso negro conza m.ª 11500	de "	89 —
Una pezza de Raso negro conza m.ª 10500	de "	80 —
Una pezza de Raso negro conza m.ª	de "	74 —
Una pezza de Raso negro desconza m.ª	de "	74 ½
Una pezza de Raso Rovan conza m.ª 9000	de "	74 —

Item Cavezzi de pani de seda de più sorte zoè

Velludo Paonazzo uno brazo e meza quarta	b.ª	1	q.e ½
Damasco Rovan	"	8	2
Damasco Rovan	"	10	—
Damasco negro	"	11	3
Damasco negro	"	6	3
Damasco Cremisin	"	3	—
Damasco Rovan in 4 Cavezi in tutto	"	4	—
Damasco Paonazzo in 4 Cavezi	"	5	3
Damasco bianco in due Cavezi	"	2	3
Damasco Cremisin in due Cavezi	"	2	2
Velludo negro uno Cavezzo	"	3	2
Raso verde in uno Cavezo	"	7	3
Raso festachin uno Cavezo	"	2	—
Raso Rovan in uno Cavezzo	"	6	—
Raso negro uno Cavezzo	"	2	—
Raso negro un altro Cavezzo	"	26	2
Item tabi negro senza mangano	"	11	—
Tabi bianco senza mangano	"	3	—
Tabi Rovan senza mangano	"	13	3
Tabi Paonazo Cremesin manganado	"	19	2
Tabi Turchin Manganado	"	5	—3½
Tabi Paonazo Cremesin senza mangano	"	21	—
Item due Cavezi de Raso Cremesin conzi	"	27	3
Uno Cavezo de Raso Paonazo Cremesin conzo	"	13	2

Item sede de più sorte zoè

Orsogli Paesani	L.	10	9
Peli filadi spagnuoli remondi	"	103	—
Peli filadi spagnoli non remondi	"	52	6
Orsogli spagnoli remondi, et non remondi	"	20	6
Ugnoli spagnoli tondi	"	47	—
Torti spagnoli tondi	"	40	—
Ugnoli Calavresi	"	5	6
Item Malifili	"	—	—
Item Peli fior di Morea, et Calavresi	"	21	—
Sedaze de più sorte	"	48	6
Fior di Morea et Calavresi ugnoli e dopij	"	38	6
Doppioni	"	3	—

Item orsoglio Cremisin . . . . . L. 1 2
Trama Paonazza . . . . . " 3 1
Item Rocheli de orsoglio Cremesin n.° 12 . . . . . " —1½
Trama Rossa de Verzin . . . . . " 2 3
Testoglio Paonazzo . . . . . " 1—
Ittem una balanza con li sui pesi over marchi et uno brazolar de ferro. Ittem Cassele de Bottega n.° XVII, et alcuni Rochelli, Ittem uno Cavezzo de Panno negro alto b.ª . . " 24—

Actum Venetiis in suprascripta Apoteca a serico suprascripti quondam ser Pascalis Nicolaj de Brachiis posita in Rivoalto presentibus ibidem Honorebilis Viris D. Joanes Maria Zonta quondam D. Luce Antonij, et ser Aloysio Guarini de Bergontijs testibus vocatis adhibitis et rogatis.

Eiusdem Anno et inditione die vero Veneris decimonono suprascripti mensis Novembris continuando suprascriptum inventarium ad instantiam suprascripte D. Lucretie Comissarie in Domo habitationis suprascripti quondam ser Pasqualis in Confinio SS. Apostolorum reperta fuerunt infrascripta bona Videlicet

Cremesi Marchiani in uno sacho li qual pesano alla sutil computando lo suo saco . . . . . L. 189—
Cremese negro in un altro sao pesa ut supra . . . . . " 155—
Item trame fior di Marea remonde et da remondar . . . " 94—

Item uno cavezo de Restagno doro . . . . . B.ª 12½
Un altro Cavezo de Restagno doro . . . . . " 15¼
Uno Cavezo de Restagno doro . . . . . " 13¼
Un altro Cavezo de Restagno doro . . . . . " 11½
Item Pani scarlatini alti che sono in su la volta ditta dalla Corona peze cinquanta una cioè . . . . . Peze 51—
Item lo sua libro de Bottega ordinario Dopio signado A. coverto de cuoro rovan scritto fina carte 107 con lo suo Zornal che principia adi primo Marzo MDXXXVI, et la prima partida dice per Cassa a ser Francesco de Christopholo di Muschi contadi da lui ducati 10 val L. 1 gr. — et l' ultima partida adi 27 Ottobrio MDXXXX per Cassa a ser Zuambattista Antelmi contadi da Domenico fante alla nuova per la obligation de L. 3 al mese in piu fiade da primo Zugno MDXXXVIII come appar in libro de accordi, et qui sotto distinto videlicet Ducati XIIj g. 1 p. 17 fuora L. 1 s. 6 gr. 1. p. 17.

Actum Venetiis in suprascripta Domo habitationis suprascripti quondam ser Pascalis in Confinio Sanctorum Apostolorum presentibus ibidem suprascripto ser Aloysio de Bergontiis, et Magistro Joanne Antonio quondam Joannis de Nazolenis de voltelina petinario de dicto confinio testibus rogatis.

(*Venezia, Archivio di Stato — Inquisitori di Stato — Registro Testamenti 1470–1692, Busta n.° 912*).

IV

Inventario Correr

In Christi nomine Amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quingentesimooctuagesimo quarto Indictione Duodecima Die lunae quarto decimo mensis may.

Inventario de tutti li beni mobili ritrovati nella casa dell'habitazione Qu. Cl.^{mo} mes. Lorenzo Correr, olim dignissimo di S. Marco procuratore, posta nella contrà di S. Simeon Grande fatto ad instantia del Cl^{mo} mes. Anzolo Correr fo del Cl^{m} mes. Hyeronimo et del mag^{co} mes. Anzolo Correr fo del Cl^{mo} Vincenzo per nome suo, et del mag^{co} mes. Marc'Antonio suo f^{ollo} in età minor costituito, tutti nepoti del sodetto q. Cl^{mo} procuratore, et questo con la presenza ed intervento delli Cl^{mi} mes. Bernardo Zane fo del Cl^{mo} mes. Hier^{mo} K^{r}. et olim dignissimo di S.t Marco procurator et del Sr Zuane Corner fo del Cl^{mo} mes Marc'Ant^{io} Comuni parenti d'essi magnifici Corrari et prima: Bassili quatro d'argento uno indorato, et l'altri con un pocho d'oro schietti, et uno Ovato; Ramini n.° quatro doi dorati et doi schietti d'argento; Una coppa col suo coperto dorata d'argento; doi gotti d'orati d'argento: Una sottocoppa con un gotto, et coperta che fa Vaso d'acqua tutti d'orati d'argento: Tre sotto coppe: Otto Candelieri d'argento: Uno sechieleto con doi maneghi d'acqua: Uno bosoletto da Zucaro d'argento — quatro saliere d'argento — quatro bosoli da spetiaria d'argento indorati con la sua piria d'argento; sedici sculieri d'argento — Una spiumarola di Zonghia d'argento: — Vinti pironi d'argento — Doi pironi d'orati col manego di Cristalo: Un forcieretto con maneghi di Cortello, et altre cosette di pocco momento — Una saliera di rame dorata — Un diamante a facette piccolo ligato — Doi relogeti piccoli — Un forcieretto piccolo con una medaglia, et con un pendente, ed doi altri pendenti piccoli di diaspro, li quali tutti argenti furono ritrovati in un scrigno di ferro — Una pannatiera d'argento con doi cortelli et doi cuchiari d'argento — Una scudella d'argento — Una Commission del Cl^{mo} procurator Correr fornita de lame d'argento et coperta di veluto — Una filza de tondini de diaspro, con una rosetta — Cinque cuchiari d'argento, una vagina de quoro fornita d'argento con un pirone et cortello col manego de diaspro — Scudi tresento e cinquanta sette e mezo, Un Ongaro — Cechini cento e cinquantanove — Moneda ducati quaranta — Moneda e quatrini ducati sesanta: Ducati mille e venti doi in tanta moneda — Una corona rossa d'osso di Spagna — Una Campanella di argento.

In Camera granda Doi quadri, Uno con l'effigie di Papa Gregorio XII Corraro, et l'altra del Sr Antonio Corraro Cardinal: Una littiera d'orata con quattro piramide con il pomolo da pavion: Otto Casse de nogara d'orate — Una tavola di pietra negra con li suoi piedi d'orati. Un paro de Cavedoni di bronzo lavorati et d'orati con li suoi fornimenti — Doi stramazi —

Un pagliarizo — Una Vesta ducal di raso cremisino fodrata de zebelini — Una Ducal di raso Cremisin fodra di lovi cervieri. Una ducal de raso paonazo fodra d'armelini. Uno Ducal de saia negra fodra de martori. Una ducal de panno paonazzo fodra de dossi. Una ducal de saia negra fodra de vari. Una ducal de panno negro de volpe. Una ducal cioè fodra de dossi senza coperta — Una ducal de Vari fodrata senza coperta — Una Romana de damasco negra fodrata de martori — Una Romana de Zambelotto negro fodra de zebelini vecchi — Una Romana de damasco fodra de rosolini — Una Romana de zambelotto fodra de conigli — Una romana de zambelotto fodra de volpe — Una Romana di ferandina fodra di code de martori — Una Romana d'ormesin fodra de scenali de martori — Un Gonellino de zambelotto fodra de Gambetti — Doi veste ducal Cremisine de tabì — Una ducal de damasco fodra d'ormesin cremesin — Una ducal de raso Cremesina fodra d'ormesin — Una ducal de scarlato fodra d'ormesin — Doi ducal de panno pavonazzo fodra d'ormesin — Doi ducal de panno negro fodra d'ormesin — Doi veste ducal de pano pavonazzo senza fodra — Tre ducal de zambelotto paonazzo col marizo — Tre ducal de zambelotto senza marizo negre — Una ducal de veludo cremesin fodra d'ormesin — Una ducal da ambasciator de veluto negro fodra d'ormesin — Una ducal de raso negro fodra di felpa manca le gionte — Una ducal de raso negro fodra d'ormesin — Una ducal de tabì ugnola — Una ducal de damasco ugnola — Una ducal de raso ugnola — Una romana de raso vecchia fodra d'ormesin — Una romana de damasco fodra de felpa — Una d'ormesin imbotida — Una di veludo fodra di damaschetto — Una d'ormesin — Una de raso fodra d'ormesin — Una de raso fodra de felpa — Tre de damasco ugnole Doi de zambelotto cremisin, una fodra di goton et l'altra non — Una vestina di ormesin paonazzo imbotida — Una vestina d'ormesin cremesin — Una vestina de tabì fodra di veludo — Una vestina di veludo fodra di felpa — Una vestina ugnola di raso — Doi vestine di damascho — Tre vestine d'ormesin ugnole — Un capotto de damasco fodra de felpa — Un capotto di canevaza fodra di raso — Un capotto di canevaza fodra di tafetà — Un giupon paonazzo di raso — Un giupon de tabì marizato cremisin — Un sagiotto di zambelotto negro fodra di roverso — Doi zupponi di damasco a scachi — Doi zupponi di raso negro — Doi zupponi d'ormesin cremesin — Un paro di braghesse di damasco cremesin — Doi para di Braghesse di raso paonazo — Un paro de braghesse d'ormesin cremesin — Un paro de braghesse d'ormesin negro — Doi feraroli di ferrandina — Un feraruol de zambelotto — Un mantel de saja con la coda — Una stola d'oro alt'e basso — Doi stole di veluto cremesin alt'e basso — Doi stole di veluto cremesin ugnole — Una stola di veluto paonazzo — Tre stole di panno negro — Doi stole di saya paonaza — Una stola di scarlato — Una portiera di veludo turchin ricamata d'oro con l'Arma Corrara in mezo — Tre portiere de panno cremesin tagiade — Una portiera de panno rosso cremesin intagià de veludo verde — Un fornimento turchin de damascho con cordelle d'oro da littiera da campo con suoi forcieri et stramazzi — Doi cossini di veludo cremesin — Doi cossini di veludo negro — Una coltra

d'ormesin cremesin fodra de samito verde — Tre coltre bianche di tela imbotida — Una coltra de raso columbin fodra de tela zala — Una coltra di rasetti turchina e bianca fodra di tela rossa — Una coltra de raso giala fodra cremesin — Doi filzade bianche — Un banchaleto de raso turchin con franze d'oro — Una sopracoperta da sella di veludo negro da cavalcar — Una sopracoperta da sella di corame — Un pavion di rasetta cremisina intagia de raso verde — Un pavion de samito strica di cordelle turchine — Un fornimento a cuba da littiera di damasco verde vecchio — Un fornimento a cuba de tabì verde col marizo — Un fornimento a cuba de borgho di seda vechio — Un fornimento a cuba de panno verde intiero — Tre coltrine d'ormesin basso da finestra — Un tapedo da ingenocchiarsi di veludo cremisin — Una coltrina d'ormesin giallo fodra di tela turchina — Un panno da tavola verde vecchio strizado di veludo giallo — Dodese braza de veludo negro in pezza — Doi capelli di raso cremesin — Doi facioli da veste — Un tapedo da tavola persian — Un tapedo cagiarin da tavola quadra — Un tapedo da tavola simiscasa longo braza sette e mezo — Un altro simile longo braza cinque — Un tapedo simiscasa longo braza cinque e tre quarti — Un altro simile longho braza quatro e mezo — Un tapedo persian longo otto braza e mezo — Un tapedo turchesco da tavola lungo b.ª diese e mezo — Un tapedo simiscasa longo b.ª sie — Un stramazo alla turchesca di tapedo — Tapeti da cassa simiscasa n.° otto — Tapedi da cassa moschetti n.° diese — Tre tapedi da cassa vechi n.° tre — Otto pezzi di razzo a boscagia usadi per fornimento della camera grande — Otto pezzi di razzo a boscagia per fornimento della camera del pergolo usadi — Sette pezzi di razzo a boscagia usadi per fornimento della camera sopra la Calle dil pistor — Cinque pezzi di razzi a boscagia d'altezza di bª tre in circa con tre pezzetti per le finestre et sono pel fornimento del mezà d'oro — Cinque pezzi grandi et quatro pizzoli de razzi a figure per fornimento delmezado app.° quello d'oro — Cinque pezzi de razzi a figure vecchi per for° del mezado soleva habitar il Clº procurator — Quatro pezzi di spaliera col Arma del Papa et Cardinal Corrari — Doi pezzi de razzi avanzati d'una muda che forno venduti tagiati — Venti pece de spaliera a brocca con l'arma di Cà Correr — Sette portiere et doi pezzetti picoli — Un pezzo di spaliera a boscagia antico — Un fornimento de quori d'oro della Camera grande — Un fornimº de quori d'oro della Camera del pergolo — Un fornimento de quori d'oro nella Camera sopra la calle del pistor — Un fornimento de quori d'oro per il portigo usadi con doi quori d'oro per tavole — Un fornimento de quori d'oro d'un Camerin soleva habitar il Clmo procurator — Doi portiere di cuori d'oro con l'Arma di Cà Correr — Un stramazzo di raso verde della letiera — Un pavion de mussolo biancho — Doi Cordelate — Quarantacinque facioletti da naso de renzo — Comessi n° sie — Sessantatrè camise da huomo — Tredisi facioli da man-Quatordese scuffie imbottide — Cinque para de calsette di tella — Un comesso di roverso — Un paro di calsette di roverso scaveze — Quatro entimelle grande et quatro piciole — Pece da testa nº 10 — Cinque para di calsette di tella — Un busto di bottana ugnolo senza manighe — Quatro braza e mezo di taffetà —

Ottanta otto tovaglioli novi — Sie tovaglioli novi da man — Una tovaglia da man nuova — Trentatrè mantili — Dodesi tovaglioli novi con i capi postizi — Dodesi tovaglioli novi con i capi postizi con gazi strangolati — Diese tovaglie da man — Quatordese tovaglioli strazati — Doi tovaglie da man — Cinque pezze da barca — Otto pezze da barca — Undesi para de linsioli novi con i capi postici — Sette para de linsiol sotilli — Nuove para de linsioli grossi — Un linciol vecchio — Dodese para de lincioli che sono nei letti — Mantili in teler b^a 60, de stopa — Settanta lire de lin filado sutil — Venti lire de lin da filar — Settanta lire de fil de stoppa — Dusento e sessanta lire de peltri di diverse sorte — Quatordese rodelle — Ventiquatro tra Alabarde et Spedi — Dodesi Alabarde fornite de veludo — Otto archi forniti alla turchesca co' suoi Carcasi — Il Scudo di Casa col Elmo et Stocco — Dodesi lancie — Doi stendardi — Una banderuola — Una Turchesca.

Nella Camera ove soleva habitar il Sr Proc^r

Un quadro con l'effigie del Patriarcha Corraro — Un quadro con l'efigio del Sr K^r Corraro — Un lettiera de noghera con la Cuba — Doi stramazzi et un pagliarizo — Una filzada rossa — Una coltra de raso imbotida — Una tavola de noghera — Sei carieghe de cuoro di noghera — Niove scagni di noghera con la coperta di veludo — Un paro de Cavedoni di laton — Uno scrignetto de laton — Uno scrignetto di noghera — Un scrittoietto picolo coperto di cuoro — Doi casse di noghera intagiade a meza scala.

Nella Camera di donna Andriana :

Doi Casse di noghera intagiade — Un mezza cassa di noghera all' antica — Tre scagni di noghera — Un forcier da campo — Una Cuna de noghera — Doi bozze d'acqua riosa grande — Un presepio da battizar indorato — Una mezza Cassa intagiada di noghera — Una Cassa di noghera — Una sella alla turchesca da cavalcar — Littiere indorade in peci con altra sorte de legnami et tatare vecchie poste in soffitta — Dodesi targhe alla turchesca — Tre buste da viaggio — Una valisa de cuoro — Doi capei da paviglioni d'orati, et rotti — Un letto da campo — Un letto da campo vechio.

In Seraglia piccola :

Portiere, vecchie, et casse vecchie, et altri rottami, più tosto da brusar che d'altro — Una forfe da cimar panni — Una cariola di noghera.

In soffita :

Un forcier da campo — Casse n° cinque vecchie — Cassoni da farina n° cinque — Un armaro — Quatro stramaci — Doi pagliarici — Doi Cavezali — Quatro Cussini — Doi casse di noghera intagiade — Un armaro da tapezarie — Un armar vecchio da libri — Una tavola de noghera co' suoi piedi su le cadene di detta soffita — Una littiera de noghera intagiada all'antica, et alq^e lancie su dette Cadene — Un scagno di veludo rotto — Una banca depinta.

Nel luogo dove si fa pan:

Una foghera granda con il suo coperchio de ferro — Una burataruola alla tedesca — Una gramola — Doi letti piuma con una coperta — Un albuol et panaruol — Una foghera da camera — Quatro concoli da pan.

In Salvaroba:

Doi scagni di noghera — Tre bozze da canevetta di stagno — Una cassa di noghera.

In Cusina:

Piatti di banda alla francese ovati n° 62 — Una rinfrescadora di rame — Candelieri n° 10 — Una conca di rame — Tre sechi di rame — Un sechio grande che si tiene ordinariamente al pozzo — Doi cazze di rame — Doi scalda vivande de laton — Sette cazze di ferro — Un bronzo col suo coverchio — Doi cazze di rame da broetto — Una padella da cusinar ovi granda — Una licarda di rame — Nove candelieri damaschini parte rotti et parte buoni — Quatro stagnade — Doi caldiere — Un capelletto di ferro — Una stagnada — Doi stagiere, una granda et una piccola — Tre cadene da fuogo — Trespedi — Un paro de cavedoni di ferro — Tre fersore — Tre gradelle — Un feral — Tre scaldaletti — Un morter de bronzo con suo piston — Un bacil vecchio — Una moletta vecchia — Doi gratacase — Doi trepiè.

Nel luogo del sguataro:

Doi cavaletti con uno stramazzo et un pagiarizo et una schiavina — In soffitta in una cassa doi stagiere grande da mercantia — Una tavola da zugar al matto vechia rovinata.

Nel magazen della liscia:

Cinque pile di pietra viva — Doi fornelli con le sue caldiere — Una cazza da liscia — Doi mastelli — Tre tolle da lavar — Una pila da olio granda.

In Tinello:

Una tavola con un pano verde vechio — Doi banche da sedere — Panni rossi a collone attorno.

In Camera di Sr Anzolo:

Un tavolin di noghera lavorato — Uno specchio con la cassa di legno — Un quadro d'una madona con S. Iseppo — Tre scagnetti de noghera — Tre carieghe de noghera senza franze — Tre scagni di noghera.

In Camera d'oro:

Un letto di piuma — Un pagliarizo — Un capezzale — Una litiera de noghera — Una coltra di bordo — Un soraletto — Nove Casse di noghera — Un stramazo, et un pagliarizo et un capezale — Un paro de Cavedoni di laton con una moletta et un ferro da fuogo.

Nei mezadi de Sr Anzolo:

Una imagine di un Christo — Un scrittor di noghera con diverse cosette — Scagni di noghera n° cinque — Carieghe di noghera fornite di cuoro con franze — Una tavola di noghera con una coperta roana — Doi mezi forcieri da campo — Una tavoletta da contar soldi intarsiata d'avoglio — Carieghe fornite di veludo cremesin — Una cariega fornita di cuoro rosso per dormir — Un tavolin con il suo veluto di sopra vechio di color verde.

Nel studio ove sono per la maggior parte libri di diversi authori:

Un scrignetto — Doi stramazi et un pagliarizzo con il suo capezale, una filza bianca — Una coltra de seda alla Suriana.

Nel mezado de mes. Guernier:

Li suoi pani verdi attorno — Cavaletti di ferro — Tre stramazzi, un cappezale — Doi Cossini con le loro ntimelle — Una coltra di raso vechia — Un altra coltra di tella — Una filzada bianca — Un tavolin di noghera con un pano sopra — Doi forcieri da campo — Doi carieghe di cuoro — Doi scagni di noghera.

In Camera del mes. Hier^mo:

Panni rossi attorno — Doi pagiarizi — Una tavola tonda.

In portigo da basso:

Un feral.

Nel mezado del spenditor:

Doi stramaci, doi pagliarici — Doi schiavine una rossa, una bianca — Una coltra vechia — Doi carieghe di paglia — Una tavola de noghera con un pano sopra — Il mezado la mità fornito de panni verdi vechi — Un paro de Cavaletti de ferro et un par di legno.

In la Camera di servitori:

Doi littiere di Cavaletti di legno — Un pagiarizo, un stramazo, un cavezal — Una schaiavina — Una coverta bianca rotta — Un pagiarizo — Un letto di piuma vechio et un cavezale — Una schiavina — Una coperta azura — Una tavola.

Nel mezado ove soleva star il prete:

Li suoi panni zali attorno a collone — Una tavola di noghera — Un forcier da campo — Una busta da campo — Una cariega rotta — Un pagliarizo, un scagno — Un par di cavaletti con le sue tavole.

Nel mezado del dottor:

Un scrittoretto mezo rotto — Una tavola di noghera — Carieghe fornite di cuoro n° cinque — Un pagliarizo, Doi stramaci — Doi coltre, un Capezal et un Cussin.

Nel mezado del Sr Procurator:

Una tavola di noghera con li suoi piedi et casselle — Una cariega da dormir comodo — Carieghe n° 3 — Un altra Cariega da far i suoi bisogni — Un par de cavedoni co parte di suoi fornimenti.

Nel studio:

Una busta — Libri di diverse sorti di Conti con suoi cuori d'oro attorno.

Nel mezado del Sr Marco:

Tre forcieri da campo — Un par de Cavaletti di ferro — Doi stramazi, un pagiarizzo — Una coverta bianca — Una coverta di raso naranzata — Doi carieghe, tre scagni, un capezal, un cussin.

Inventario delle robbe che si hano condotto da Padova a Vena et prima:

Quatordesi pezzi de panni verdi sorazalli — Panni verdi depinti pezzi n° 19 — Panni rossi sorazalli pezzi n° 4 — Panni rossi schietti pezzi n. 7 — Panni zali con oro pezzi n° 5 — Una coperta paonazza di damasco con il suo bancale — Doi cossini grandi di raso rosso con Cordelle bianche — Doi picoli al simile — Un adornamento da letti — Cossini sforniti n° 4 — Un paviglione di seda a Cuba con il suo fornimento — Un pavigione di bavella vergato — Un paviglione di panno verde a cuba con il suo fornimento — Un paviglione di seta vergato con il suo bancale — Casse n° sie con suoi tapedi, 6.

Biancarie:

Linciuoli sotilli para n° 2 — Lincioli grossi para 4 — Una busta con cortelli 6 — Pironi sie — Cuchiari sie — Tovagioli 25 — Salviette 4 — Intimelle para 1 — Mantili 6 — Pezze da cusina 4 — Quadri grandi 4 — Doi para de cavaletti dorati di ferro — Quatro para de cavaletti con le sue tavole — Un ciel da paviglione — Sette stramazi — Pagliarizi n° sie — Capezali n° cinque et un letto di piuma — Doi littiere a cuba — Doi coltre verde et doi schiavine — Sette Carieghe di corame da poggio — Tavole di noghera n° tre con li suoi piedi — Scagni di nogara n° 12 — Un par de Cavedoni da Camera grandi con cinque ferri ed il follo — Doi para de Cavedoni da camera con ferri sette et candelieri n° cinque — Settanta un pezzo de peltri et doi cadini — Una padella da torte et un spedo, una Cadena ed un paro de cavedoni, la fontana et ramina ecc.

(*Venezia, Museo Civico*).

V

Inventario Pollani

Die 7 januarij 1590.

Clarissima domina Maria relicta quondam Clarissim domini Hieromini Pollani quondam Clarissimi domini Jacobi. Post quam comprobavit de sua docte et re promissa ut constat eius vadimonio in presenti offitio ellencato sub die 17 decembris proxime preteriti presentavit bona infrascripta.

Una vestura de tabin de arzento et oro a opera uxada — Un'altra vestura de veludo a opera incarnado e bianco — Un'altra de broccadello de tre colori uxada — Un altra de ormesin zallo — Un'altra macchiada — Un altra de brocadello de quattro collori — Un altra de ormesin da provenza bianca con cordella d'oro — Una maniza de zebellini coverta de veludo a opera con dodese bottoni de perlette da onza — Una vesta da dona de veludo a opera negra — Un altra de ormesin vergado nova — Un altra de brocato negro — Un altra de ormesin negro strazado — Un altra de damaschetto a opera vecchia — Una vestura de brocato canellado uxada — Una carpetta de broccadello de più collori uxada — Una carpetta de velludo zallo intagiada vecchia — Un habito da donna de fante de raso sguardo — Un altro de panno biancho — Un schiavonetto de tella chiara lavorado vecchio — Un ventolo de pagia col manego d'arzento — Una fodra de carpetta de volpe usada — Una maniza de martori vecchia coverta de veludo a opera — Un ventagio, de penna negra — Un specchio di cristal rotto con la cassa intagiada e dorada — Cuori d'oro alti brazza quattro brazza vinti nove e mezzo vecchi — Cuori rossi et doro et arzento brazza cinquanta tre alti quarte diese meza vecchi — Doi fornimenti de cuori d'oro alti quarte diese meza de pelle numero 327 — Coverte da tolle de cuoro rosso tra vecchie et nove numero cinque — Quattro quadri de retratto con le soaze d'orade et intagiade — Un quadro di un Cristo uno della cena et uno del nostro Signor che fa oration tutti con le soaze dorade — Quattro cussini de cuoio — Sei casse de noghara intagiade et dorade con la littiera compagna usada — Sei tapedi zalli da cassa — Un specchio de azal — Doi quadretti vecchi et doi più grandi — Un pavion de grogran cremesin intagià de raso zallo — Una zogia da Pavion — Un letto de piuma — Un stramazo — Un Pagiazo — Doi coltre de Soria depente — Una coverta de grogran cremesin — Un pavion de damaschetto cremesin et zallo con la sua coperta et banca letto — Rasi a figurette braza trenta un, alti braza quattro — Spaliere a boschagia alte quarte diese braza ventinove — Undesi tappedi cimiscasa da cassa uxadi — Tredese camise da dona bone et dodese vecchie — Un tapedo a marche da tolla alto braza tre mezo longo braza 6,3 — Un pavion de grogran cremesin schietto alto braza cinque — Panni rossi a collori alti braza tre quarte braza quaranta — Doi para de cavedoni de latton con suoi fornimenti — Quattro para de lenzuoli de tella la voradi de

ponto tagiado con merli a mazette et un par de schietti — Dodese charieghe de nogara alla pretina dorade fornide de velludo naranzetto et un caregon — Dodese scagni de nogara intagiadi et doradi col pozo — Doi fogiette da Pavion — Una canella da testa dorada — Un follo da camera intagiado dorado — Tre littiere de ferro dorade — Una zogia granda da stuco da Pavion — Un per de cavedoni de latton imbrunidi et doradi — Carieghe de nogara desnodade fornide de cuoro numero quindese — Disisette scagni de nogara a pozo — Spalliere a brocca vecchie alte quarte diese braza quaranta otto — Cinque casse de noghara intagiade et dorade — Un fazzuol bianco de binda de Candia de seda schietto et un vergado d'oro — Sette para de lenzuoli de tella uxadi lavoradi de ponto in stuora — Trenta otto tovaglioli a opera de renso — Sette intimelle — Tovaglioli de canevo lavoradi de ponto tagià numero cinquanta — Un mantil longo Braza sie mezo in opera de renzo et quatro tovagie lavorade de ponto in stuora — Un follo dorado fornido de velludo cremesin — Dodese fazuoli da man lavoradi — Fazzoletti da naso de diverse sorte n° 30 — Traverse numero cinque — Un boccassin de bombasina — Una peza da spalle — Peltri pezzi numero 100 de diverse sorte — Secchi a soza numero diese, et otto da aqua schietti — Quatro secchieli de laton et uno alla damaschina — Dodese candelieri de latton et otto alla damaschina — Tre conche de rame, doi cuogome — Una camisa da donacon le maneghe lavorade — Una cinta de cristal coverta d'oro bottoni 73 — Un' altra cinta d'oro de bottoni numero 48 — Bottoni de perlette da onze n° 24 — Un per de recchini con cristalli et un per de anneletti da recchie — Rosette piccole con perlette numero quaranta uno pesano onze tre, quarti tre, carati disdotto — Diese broche d'oro grande con perle da onza pesano onze tre, carati 24 — Doi para de recchini uno con perle et un per de pereti, et l'altro con perle storte — Un fillo de perle num. 40 quattro pesano carati 118 con li piombi — Un fanò d'orado — Una credenza de nogara — Tre secchieli de latton — Un baccil de latton — Doi scalda vivande — Cinquanta tovaglioli vecchi de diverse sorte — Una felzada bianca — Doi letti de piuma — Sei stramazi de lana — Sei mantili grossi — Quatro para de lenzuoli da famegia — Un scagno de nogara grando et uno piccolo — Diese pezze da cussino — Doi stagnade — Un per de cavedoni da cusina de ferro — Sei mantili a opera de renso longhi brazza quattro in circa — Diese pezze da barca grosse — Un mantil longo braza sei — Doi cassoni de Albeo — Un armer de albeo da vesture — Vinti quattro camise da homo usade — Una caza da acqua granda et una piccola — Doi caldiere da fornello et doi piccole — Doi martelli grandi et tre piccoli — Sei botte vecchie — Carieghe de pagia da dona n° 12.

Que omnia supra dicta bona extimata fuerunt ducatis duobus mille octingentis septaginta tribus pro parte eius doctis Dc 2873.

Angelus Faustini Not°

(*L'inventario stava nella dispersa Raccolta Stefani di Venezia*).

C — DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE FOR BANQUETS

1534 — adi XI marzo.

Spese fatte per el magnifico messer Hettor Loredan Official alle Rason Vecchie per la venuta in questa Città della Illustrissima Signora la Signora Rhomea Duchessa de Ferara come per la cena de hozzi et per il disnar de doman fatto a Chioza a lei et sua compagnia et altre spexe et prima.

per carne de vedello L. 348 a s. 5 la lira	L.	87 —	
per carne de manzo L. 253 a s. 3 la lira . . .	"	37 —	s. 16 —
per carne de castrato L. 497 a s. 3½ la lira . . .	"	87 —	
per coradella et figadi	"	4 —	s. 12 —
per capretti 12 a L. 3 s. 15 luno	"	45 —	
per caponi pera 90 a L. 3 s. 10 al paro	"	315 —	
per columbini pera 105 a s. 22 el paro	"	115 —	s. 10 —
per pani n° 2463 a s. 2 luno	"	246 —	s. 6 —
per vin bianco big. ¹ 3 a L. 13 el big.°	"	39 —	
per vin negro big. ¹ 14 a L. 12 el big.°	"	168 —	
per lardo L. 38 a s. 7 la lira	"	12 —	
per salzizoni L. 12 cremonesi a s. 12 la lira . . .	"	7 —	s. 4 —
per ovi n. 250 a s. 50 al cento	"	6 —	s. 5 —
per ovi freschi per la matina n° 40 a s. 3	"	1 —	s. 6 —
per formazo dolce parmesan L. 17 a s. 10	"	8 —	s. 10 —
per descolado de porco L. 12 a s. 6 la lira	"	3 —	s. 12 —
per onto sottil L. 18 a s. 7 la lira	"	6 —	s. 6 —
per nollo de cento taglieri de stagno	"	2 —	s. 10 —
per oglio	"	3 —	s. 15 —
per asedo L. 2 latte s. 30 — in tutto	"	3 —	s. 10 —
per zucharo fin lire 6 onze 90 a s. 14	"	4 —	s. 14 —
per zucharo fin tolto a Chioza	"	2 —	s. 2 —
per zucharo de Madera L. 16 a s. 12 la lira . . .	"	9 —	s. 12 —
per naranze 156 s. 22 — limoni 50 s. 28 in tutto .	"	2 —	s. 10 —
per spetie dolce et forte	"	2 —	s. 10 —
per zaffaran	"	2 —	s. 4 —
per garoffoli et pevere	"	1 —	s. 2 —
Somma	L.	1238 —	s. 2 —
per zenzaro pesto	L.	— —	s. 10 —
per canella pesta fina s. 10 — integra s. 10 in tutto .	"	1 —	
per uva passa s. 8 mandole L. 10 a s. 4 la lira in tutto	"	2 —	s. 8 —
per far masenar le mandole	"	— —	s. 12 —
per mandole comperate a Chioza	"	1 —	

per salata peresemolo herbette per le torte ed altre herbe oliose	L.	2 —	s. 6 —
per sal negro et biancho	"	1 —	s. 4 —
per sparazi mazi 130	"	3 —	s. 10 —
per fava et bisi	"	4 —	s. 7 —
per granzipori et granseole	"	6 —	s. 12 —
per acquarosa lire 5	"	1 —	s. 10 —
per ceriese	"	5 —	
per acqua messa nelli pozi del potestà et de ser Alexandro Rosa	"	2 —	s. 12 —
per spago	"	— —	s. 9 —
per candelle de sevo L. 8 a s. 7	"	2 —	s. 16 —
per candelle de cera mazi do — Torzi 20 — quaretti n° 15 — fo L. 200 a s. 12½ la lira	"	125 —	
per confetti L. 100 a s. 12 la lira	"	60 —	
per pignocade L. 46 a s. 13 la lira	"	29 —	s. 17 —
per marzapani L. 49 a s. 12 la lira	"	29 —	s. 8 —
per zuche lire 20 a s. 20 la lira	"	20 —	
per amesi confetti L. 2 a s. 12 la lira	"	1 —	s. 4 —
per meglio et sorgo per manzar di poli	"	4 —	s. 4 —
per Malvasia tolta a Chioza	"	3 —	s. 17 —
per carbon sachetti 17½ comprati a Chioza	"	— —	s. 22 —
lume	"	19 —	s. 5 —
per malvasia q.ª 1ª cum la q.ª	"	15 —	s. 4 —
per legne carra 20½ tolto a Chioza s. 32	"	32 —	s. 16 —
per fassime fassi et zochi	"	3 —	s. 13 —
per candelle de cera tolte a Chioza	"	1 —	s. 12 —
per farina	"	1 —	s. 14 —
per scovoli	"	— —	s. 2 —
per stores per far perfumego	"	1 —	s. 16 —
per ingistere 94 — gotti 129 tra persi et rotti, boccali et cadini. — In tutto	"	25 —	s. 11 —
	L.	410 —	s. 9 —

per fachini et barche et gondole per le soprascritte robbe	L.	2 —	s. 6 —
per nollo de gotti ed ingistere	"	1 —	s. 7 —
per homeni 6 serviteno alla cusina per zorni 2, ed altri servitij a s. 14 per uno al zorno	"	8 —	s. 8 —
per femene 3 et un homo serviteno a lavar in cusina	"	1 —	s. 4 —
per uno homo servito al scalco preditto	"	— —	s. 16 —
per do barche conduseno le robbe li homeni et li cuogi cum le sue massarie a Chioza	"	9 —	
per una barcha cum homeni 4 steteno al servitio del magnifico messer Hettor Loredan zorni 3 a s. 30 al zorno per uno	"	12 —	

per più spexe del zorno se andò a Chioza in ditta barca	L.	7 —	s. 19 —
per conto a Perniet et compagni porto vin et legna a pallazzo a Chioza per zorni due	"	3 —	s. 16 —
per una barca fu spazà da Chioza Venetia una lettera a posta et tornò a Chioza una lettera della Signora fo zonta homeni do in ditta barcha . . .	"	9 —	s. 10 —
per una barca condusse le robbe de cuogi et tutta la massaria a Venetia el zorno che vene la Duchessa	"	7 —	s. 10 —
per barcha una fo spazà per la Signora a Chioza cum lettere	"	4 —	
per un servidor menado da Venetia de li, et servi un zorno avanti se andasse a Chioza — In tutto zorni 4 a s. 20 al zorno	"	4 —	
per i cuogi sono 3 mastri cum le sue massarie et 5 famegli per do pasti per persona da 350 a parechiar	"	43 —	s. 18 —
per barche 14 a homeni 6 per barcha a s. 20 per homo li qual remurchio burchi et barche della soprascritta Duchessa come per fede del magnifico potestà da Chioza appar — nelle qual barche 14 ne fu una cum homini 8 posta nella ditta in filza	"	86 —	
per pani 60 da s. 2 luno tolti qui per Chioza . . .	"	6 —	
per el scalco ordinario servi zorni tre cum el suo famej	"	27 —	
per un compagno del scalco soprascritto	"	16 —	s. 17 ½
per sette barbieri venero da Venezia et servi di tre officiali 5 per uno	"	35 —	
per uno nostro homo solicitò tutti li allozamenti insieme cum el forier della Duchessa et de custodia di essi et continuamente fece che le camere fussero ben aparade	"	4 —	
	L.	290 —	s. 11 ½
	L.	1238 —	s. 2 —
	L.	410 —	s. 9 —
	L.	1949 —	s. 2 ½

1534 — adi 11 mazo

Spese della robba fu mandata alla casa del Signor Duca de Ferara la sera vene la Duchessa de ferrara:

per vedelli 6 vivi L. 451 a s. 17 el conto	L.	76 —	s. 14 —
per capretti 12 pexo L. 140 a s. 5 la lira	"	35 —	
per caponi pera 30 a L. 3 s. 10 el per	"	105 —	
per colombini pera 60 a s. 24 el per	"	72 —	
per polastri pera 30 a s. 24 el per	"	36 —	
per carne de manzo lire 190	"	28 —	s. 10 —

per lengue pera 8 a s. 32 el per	L.	12 — s. 16 —
per malvasia moscatella L. 7 — per el carrettello per metter la ditta	"	27 — s. 5 —
per torzi 15 — quaretti 25 — mazi 4 de candelle da tavola gardenalescha pexo L. 228 a s. 12½ . .	"	142 — s. 10 —
per spetie dolce et forte L. 3 a s. 44	"	6 — s. 12 —
et zucaro fin pani 10 L. 22 a s. 14	"	15 — s. 8 —
per zaffaran onze 6	"	9 —
per pani n.° 1000	"	50 —
per vin bianco big.° 4 a L. 14	"	56 —
per vin negro big.° 4 a L. 12	"	48 —
per una barcha de fachini portò le soprascritte robbe fo homini doi steteno tutto el zorno	"	2 — s. 15 —
per uno fachin servi tutto el zorno	"	1 —
per barche ando a tuor li vedelli alla Zudecha . .	"	— — s. 8 —
per scortegadori mazò li vedelli soprascritti . . .	"	1 — s. 4 —
per nollo de do botte per metter el soprascritto vin .	"	5 12
per un fachin porto el pan in barcha	"	— — s. 3 —
per barca fo per avanti in più volte	"	1 — s. 12 —
per una barca vene li compagni a tuor le torze la prima volta	"	12 — s. 12 —
per fachin portò le torze in buzentoro a S. Marco .	"	— — s. 7 —
per confetti L. 40 a s. 12	"	24 —
per marzapani 16 L. 64 a s. 12	"	38 — s. 8 —
per conto alli piffari sono in buzentoro quando vene la duchessa fo de ordene de messer Piero Antonio Michel compagno	"	24 — s. 16 —
per conto alli fachini porto el vin alla casa della duchessa	"	2 — s. 8 —
	L.	819 —
per do botte et un carattello fo porta alla casa del duca de Ferrara per la cena fo messo el vin dentro et fo ritenuti li ditti arnesi per el mastro de casa dicendo che erano stati anchor quelli donadi et che erano sua regalia	"	10 — s. 10 —
per sachi 5 li fo dati cum el pan	"	6 —
per torze 100 fo manda al busentoro pexo L. 817 et fo de L. 8 et de L. 10 et de L. 12 a s. 12½ la lira monta L. 510 s. 12 delli qual fo restituito torze 61 — pexo L. 430 a s. 10½ la lira monta L. 225 s. 15 quali fo abbatter dalli soprascritti L. 510 s. 12 — fu tolte alla spitiaria del Cuor resta	"	284 — s. 17 —
	L.	311 — s. 7 —
	L.	819 —
	L.	1120 — s. 7 —

adì 17 marzo.

Spese fatte per la collatione el zorno della festa stando la Signora duchessa in buzentoro, et fo apparecchiata alla Dohanna et mandata ditta collation in buzentoro governata per la compagnia et prima:

per spongade n.° 83 tolte dal spitier della Pigna a San Polo pexo L. 700 a s. 24 la L.	L.	840 —	
per fongi, pistachiere, et calissoni, cioè pistachiere L. 49 — fongi L. 85¼ — calissoni L. 96 — In tutto L. 230½ cum le sue coperte tutto de zucharo fin et dorade a s. 20	"	230 —	s. 10 —
per pignocade L. 88½ a s. 13 la lira	"	57 —	s. 10 —
per bozolladi 200 fu fatti per le munege della Celestia pieni, et per altre spese fatte per li ditti per oro et altro	"	51 —	s. 7 —
per confetti L. 800 a s. 12 la lira	"	480 —	
per lerizia L. 60 ½ a s. 7 la lira	"	109 —	s. 6 —
per bozoladi inzucharadi n.° 300 a s. 1° luno et per fugazine n.° 500 a n.° 2 al soldo	"	27 —	s. 10 —
per vin bianco big.i 4 vicentin dolce a lire 17 al big.°	"	68 —	
per vin negro big.i 6 a L. 12 al big.°	"	72 —	
per tavole depente et civiere per portar el presente della duchessa per metter sotto li spongade . .	"	4 —	s. 16 —
Somma	L.	1940 —	s. 19 —
per nollo de tavole et trespedi	L.	1 —	s. 4 —
per ingistere n.° 350 perse et per gotti 140 persi — In tutto	"	45 —	s. 10 —
per boccalli 12 grandi a s. 3 luno	"	1 —	s. 16 —
per corbette 30 a s. 7 luna	"	10 —	s. 10 —
per cariege 50 a s. 4 luna per portar in buzentoro hebbeli li compagni	"	10 —	
per conduttura del vin al magazen alla dohanna in barche et fachini	"	3 —	
per conto a ser Piero Antonio Michiel per più spexe fatte per lui	"	33 —	s. 15 —
per conto al depentor depense le spongade . . .	"	2 —	s. 8 —
per bastoni have el scalco per li compagni fu comprati heri	"	6 —	s. 15 —
per do homeni servi quel zorno	"	2 —	
per una barca granda porto le spongade et altre robbe al magazen alla dohanna	"	1 —	
per conto a ser Polo Vendramin compagno come per suo conto appar per più spexe fatte	"	35 —	s. 9 —
per conto alli piffari mantoani s. 6	"	40 —	s. 10 —
per una barca servi el zorno a do remi	"	2 —	s. 10 —

per spexe da manzar per li homini servi el zorno et barcharuoli	L	9 —	s. 15 —
per conto a Zuan Maria dal Cornetto per la sua persona dacordo scudi 9	"	60 —	s. 15 —
per conto al vitto per caparra della musica granda .	"	135 —	
per conto a ser Piero Antonio Michiel compagno per barche 6 depente per far largo	"	162 —	
per conto al nonzolo della compagnia per le regate della Illustrissima signora come per mandato appar duc. 120	"	744 —	
per fachini et barche porto li torzi in buzintoro .	"	— —	s. 12 —
per bandiere n.° 28 cioè brazza 18 de tella a s. 9 — franza brazza 84 — L. 4 s. 4 — fattura de depenzar s. 24 luna L. 33 — s. 12 — in tutto . . .	"	45 —	s. 18 —
per una bandiera de cendado cremesin per la barcha della Signora braza un e mezo L. 9 — s. 6 — fattura et oro della ditta L. 15 — franza cremesina onze 2 a L. 3 longa L. 6 — In tutto . .	"	30 —	s. 6 —
per nollo de mezolere 24	"	1 —	s. 4 —
	L.	1385 —	s. 17 —
per una mezolera persa	L.	— —	s. 12 —
per piffari todeschi et trombetti n.° 6	"	20 —	s. 5 —
per violoni 6	"	20 —	s. 5 —
per contadi a Zuan Maria dal Cornetto per resto della musica granda	"	82 —	s. 12 —
per trombe squarzade n.° 4 che ando avanti la colation adoperati nella regata et battaglia . . .	"	13 —	s. 10 —
per conto a quel del fontego dalle campanelle che sona nella musica granda	"	13 —	s. 10 —
per bozzoladi inzucharadi 500	"	6 —	s. 5 —
per conto al scalco zeneral governo la collation scudi 5 per homeni 12 servi alli zentil homeni alla ditta collation che sono sotto scalchi a s. 24 luno L. 14 — s. 8 — In tutto	"	48 —	s. 3 —
per tre barille vuode fo messo in barcha de compagni piene de vin a s. 31 luna et con li sestini	"	4 —	s. 13 —
per quatro caneveri tendete nel ditto zorno . . .	"	4 —	s. 16 —
per fachini et barche fo tornato indriedo tavole 3 spedi botte et altre robbe	"	2 —	
per torzi 50 da L. 10 luno fu accompagnato la Signora in buzintoro a casa fo consignati alli compagni pexo L. 470 a s. 12¼ la lira se abbate lire 40 s. 18 per torze brusade tornade indriedo resta	"	253 —	s. 17 —

per nollo de un razo a broche cum seda nuovo de braza 5, 6 per zorni 12 a s. 20 al zorno per la brocha de monsignor arcipiscopo . . . . . L. 12 —
" 482 — s. 8 —
" 1940 — s. 19 —
" 1385 — s. 17 —
L. 3809 — s. 4 —

Item conta Antonio Zuan Maria Morosini savio de ordeni per lo metter in ordene delli palaschermi et fo per avanti hebbeli dalli camerlenghi per nome mio adi 9 mazo duc. 75 vale . . . . L. 465 —

Item conta alla Illustrissima Signora duchessa di Ferrara ducati mille d'oro in più fiade comenzando adi 13 mazo fino adi 22 inclusivo a duc. cento al zorno juxta lordene de collegio sono ducati 1088 s. 17 fu per zorni 10 continui . . " 6750 —

(*Venezia, Arch. di Stato — Ufficiali alle Rason vecchie — Notatorio — Reg. n.° 27, c. 188*).

D — MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

I

Contracts between Patrician Families

Die quinto Januarij 1506 [*m. v.*].

Coram Magnificis ac Generosis Dominis Thadeo Contareno et Joanne Cornario honorabilibus Aduocatoribus comunis comparuerunt viri nobiles ser Fantinus Zeno quondam ser Antonij, et ser Franciscus Venerio quondam ser Aloysij uti commissariorum quondam viri nobilis ser Joannis Aloysij Dandulo quondam ser Leonardi: ac viri nobiles ser Leo di Molino, et ser Leonardus di Molino fratres quondam ser Nicolai quondam ser Leonis, uti sponsi, et uti commissi Dominarum Andriane et Laure Dandulo filiarum quondam ser Leonardi eorum uxorum, ut de commissaria constat publico instrumento manu Georgij de Maynardis notarii publici diei 27 mensis Januarij 1507 more Imperij, nominati in infrascripto contracto, et juraverunt hunc esse verum et autenticum notarium juxta legem superinde editam, cuius tenor talis est:

Al nome de Dio et del Spirito Sancto, e de la gloriosa madre de Dio Rezina nostra le Nobel Done madona Andriana et madona Laura fiole che fo del Magnifico miser Lunardo Dandolo quondam miser Piero, sono contente tuor per suo maridi li nobel homeni miser Lion da Molin et miser

Lunardo fradelli fioli fo del Magnifico miser Nicolo da Molin fo de miser Lion, et le dite tute do se obliga et promette dar per dota et coriedi ducati siemillia zoe ducati 6000, segondo la parte nova, e, prima promette, e cussi se obbliga le predite madona Andriana, e Madona Laura a i sopraditi miser Lion e miser Lunardo per dota et coredi de le dite done do, ducati 6000 sopraditi, a questo modo zoe, una caxa da statio posta in San Luca su el Canal grando cum sue botege magazeni et riue soto la dita, in la qual al presente le dite habita per prexio et acordo de ducati doamillia e cinquecento, zoe ducati 2500. Item una caxa messa in el confin de S. Pollo con uno terren vacuo, che vien sopra el Canal grando, la qual son apresso miser Francesco Bernardo paga de fito ducati vinti al anno, questo se mette dacordo ducati quatrocento e cinquanta zoe ducati 450. Ittem le dite da una caxa cum suo terren vacuo, posta a San Vido vien sopra el Canal grando, paga ducati vinti, cum tute sue habentie, e pertinentie dacordo in ducati 450, zoe ducati 450. Ittem una possession de campi vinticinque zoe 25 terre, et campi n.° cinque zoe cinque de boschi, in tuto campi n.° trenta zoe 30 poste in la villa de Rubegan de sora de Mestre, paga de fito stara vintisie formento trivisani, cara do e mezo vin, uno porcho, et le sue onoranze dacordo in ducati sie cento zoe ducati 600. Ittem ducati setecento e quaranta de monte nouo che son in nome de misser Lunardo Dandolo quondam misser Piero de sue gravezze et tanse i qual monta ducati seicento e ventitre zoe ducati 623. Ittem arzenti per ducati tresento. Ittem contadi ducati dusento. Ittem panni de seda et robe per suo vestir per ducati siecento zoe ducati 600, essendo cussì stimade. Ittem uno credito al officio di camarlengi che se dieno hauer al suo maridar per una parte prexa in pregadi ducati cento e quaranta zoe ducati 140. Ittem promette de dar uno credito de danari contadi posti nel bancho di Lippamani i qual dice se hauera subito de contadi sono ducati cento e diese zoe ducati 110, e ducati cento de pro correnti che ditto bancho li ha obligadi a miser Zuan Aluise Dandulo quondam miser Lunardo fradello de le dite, meto a ducati 27 el cento, che summa le soprascritte partide ducati sie milia zoe ducati siemillia, di qual do terzi se die meter in carta, et uno terzo se intende esser donadi ali ditti fradelli, segondo usanza de la terra, de la qual tuta sopradita dota che sara messa in carta che sara ducati quatromillia i diti fradelli se le chiama sopra tuti i suo beni, de le qual tute le sopradite cosse stabelle come possession et monte nouo, et altro che i diti abudo in dota da le dite, tuto o parte de quello se intenda per pacto expresso chel sia in liberta de diti fradelli quelle poter vendere ad ogni suo bon piaser.

Con questa condiction che i ducati quatromillia che i sara messo in carta a le dite done volendo i diti suo maridi vender el stabelle dadoge in dota che i diti possa vender, ma cum questa condiction, che i ditti assegura su altro stabelle de i diti fradelli per tanto quanto li vuendera come e zusto et se loccoresse el cargo de la desolution, quod deus auertat de qualche uno de loro, hauendosse restituir luna, ouer tute do le dote,

zoe quella parte che sara messa in carta, in questo caxo el se dechiara che atrouandosse di soprascripti beni zoe del stabelle possession, o monte nuovo, el sia in libertà de i diti maridi, ouer suo heredi, restituirli de quelle cosse a le dite done, per el modo et prexio che loro le abude, essendo le dite ouer suo heredi obligadi tuorle, et si per caxo el fosse sta fato spexa alguna, et maxime nel stabelle, quelle siano estimate, e per la stima el se habiano a tuor, tuta volta volendo cussì i maridi et suo heredi pregando miser Domenedio i conserua longamente tute le parte:

La dimissoria per vigor del residuo lasado a le dite madona Andriana et madona Laura per el quondam misser Zuan Alvise Dandolo suo fradello sono le sotoscrite cosse e, prima mobele de caxa e ducati quatrocento zoe duc. 400. Ittem el stabelle de San Bartolomio che son caxe cum la riua in quatro fitaxon, paga ducati otanta, cum quarte dodexe vin di qual do terzi son liberi et uno terzo condictionado; el libero son ducati cinquanta grossi 8 al anno, e quarte oto vin. Ittem zoie et perle per ducati dusento. Ittem uno resto de pro correnti son ducati nonanta del bancho di Lippamani, i scritte a miser Aluise Dandolo so fradello. Ittem al officio de le cazude certo soprabondante de una caxa fo venduta per dito officio son ducati cento e cinquanta. Ittem alguni altri debiti per ducati cento e cinquanta. Ittem in banco vechio di Garzoni ducati quatrocento e sesantacinque zoe ducati 465, de la ultima mita de danari de dito bancho, le qual sopradite cosse sono et se intendano per dimissoria de le dite do fiolle del quondam miser Lunardo Dandolo, come herede del quondam miser Zuan Aluise suo fradello come per el testamento apar:

Promettando le dite done de mantegnir tuto quello le à dado in dota a i sopraditi miser Lion et miser Lunardo suo maridi de mantegnir et varentar sopra la sua dimissoria sopradita, e specialmente sopra el stabelle da San Bortholamio che le dite hano per so dimissoria, et tuto quello le se atrovassero hauer per conto de la dita so dimissoria et tuti i altri suo beni comodocumque che le podesse aver et aquistar

adi 14 decembrio 1506.

mi Andriana et Laura Dandolo semo contente ut supra.

Io Fantin Zen fo de miser Antonio come commessario de ser Zuan Aluise Dandolo eremo sta presente a tuto quanto fato de voluntà de le soprascrite done.

Io Francesco Venier fu de miser Aluise come commissario de Zuan Aluise Dandolo semo sta presente a tuto de voluntà de le soprascripte spexe:

Thadeus Contareno Advocator comunis subscripsi.

Joannes Cornario Advocator comunis subscripsi

Paulus di Porris Officij
advocator comunis coadiutor.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato — Avogaria del Comun "Contratti di nozze" — Registro n.° 75 — Carte 40-41).

1506 Die XVII^mo Januarij [m. v.]

Comparuerunt coram magnificis Dominis Thadeo Contareno, et Joanne Cornario honorabilibus Advocatoribus Communis in maiori Consilio nobilis vir Joannes Paulo Gradonico pater sponsae, et nobilis vir Sebastianus sponsus Contareno: ac ser Bernardinus de Martinis mediator infrascriptarum nuptiarum et eorum juramento affirmarunt hunc esse verum, et autenticum contractum iuxta formam legis superinde captae: Cuius tenor talis est:

Laus Deo 1506 in Venetia:

Al nome sia de lo Omnipotente Idio, et de la gloriosa Verzene Maria, et del Spirito Sancto: Pacti et Convention matrimonial celebradi tra i nobeli homeni: El magnifico miser Zuanpaulo Gradonico fo del magnifico miser Justo da una parte et miser Sabastian Contarini fo del magnifico miser Antonio da laltra parte cum i modi et condiction qui sottoscripti e prima: Promette el predicto magnifico miser Zuampaulo Gradenigo in quanto chel predicto miser Sabastian Contarini consenta de tuor madona Gradonica sua fiola per suo legitima sposa, et dilecta moglier come comanda Idio et la sancta madre chiesia de darli per dotta e coriedi ducati tre millia in questo modo: zoe ducati 2700 contadi: i quali el bancho de miser Alujise Pisani li die prometter de farli la partida immediate, dapoi transducta lhauera la dicta madona Gradeniga sua moglier: In questo modo zoe ducati mille correnti, et ducati 1700: in termene de anni tre, zoe el primo anno che sera 1507 ducati octocento: el secundo anno 1508, zoe mille cinquecento e octo ducati 500: el terzo anno sera 1509, ducati 400: et cose per lo uestir de la dicta dona ducati 300: che suma in tutto: i sopradicti ducati 3000 ut supra: Alincontro promette el sopradicto miser Sabastian Contarini sposo de metter in carta a la supradicta madona Gradeniga sua sposa ducati doamillia doro per doi terzi de la supradicta dota, et securada sopra tuti i suo beni mobeli stabeli presenti, et futuri, et el resto che son ducati 1000, per el terzo de la dicta dota li roman donadi al dicto sposo secundo usanza de la terra: Item promette etiam miser Lorenzo Contarini suo fradello, et assecura la sopradicta dota, sopra tuti i suo beni mobelli, stabelli presenti et futuri, et etiam dechiarisse che tuto quello che dicti fradelli se atrovano al mondo hauer se intendi esser per conto de fraterna, et che uno non cognosci uno soldo più de l'altro: et per chiareza sua io Bernardin di Martini mezano de le predicte noce scripsi perchè cussi conclusi dacordo cum le parte, che Idio et nostra Dona, i lasci uiuer longamente et insieme cum sanità, pace, et contento, et fioli amen: 1506 in Venetia adi 31 decembrio:

Io Zuampaulo Gradenigo fo de miser Justo sum contento quanto è suprascripto:

Io Lorenzo Contarini fo de miser Antonio sum contento de quanto e suprascripto:

Io Sabastian Contareno fo de miser Antonio sum contento de quanto e suprascripto:

Thadeus Contareno Advocator Comunis subscripsi.

Joannes Cornario Advocator Comunis subscripsi.

Die XVII^mo Januarij 1506.

Ego Ludouicus de Zambertis notarius officij Aduocarie, presens fui presentationi presentis contractus facti per partes, et mediatores superios nominatos et juramento per eos prestito iuxta formam legis, et me subscripsi presentibus suprascriptis magnificis Dominis Advocatoribus qui se etiam subscripserunt ut supra.

(*Venezia, Archivio di Stato — Avogaria del Comun "Contratti di nozze" — Registro n.° 75 — Carte 26to–27*).

Marriage contract between the Paduan nobleman Bonifacio Conti and Beatrice Cosazza, of a noble foreign family which had been naturalized.[1] *The contracting parties with witnesses appeared before the Avogadori del Comune and the form of the contract does not differ from the preceding. But the following note in the vernacular added to the Latin of the contract may be of interest:*

M. D. V. Adi XIIIj novembrio. In Venetia.

Sia noto e manifesto a chi viderà el presente scripto come nel Millesimo e di soprascripto, nel nome de lo eterno Idio, de la Sacratissima sua madre, del glorioso miser S. Marcho protector nostro, e de San Zorzi e tuta la Celeste Corte, lo Illustre signor Zuane Cossaza famosissimo condutiero de nostra Serenissima Signoria de Venetia promette la Mag.^ca Madona Beatrice sua sorella, per nome suo e de la Illustre M.ª Malgarita sua matre, per legitima spoxa e mogliere a miser Bonifacio Conte figlio del M.^co Conte miser Bernardino di Conti nobille paduano, l'uno e l'altro presente a questo

[1] Naturalization as a nobleman was conferred on Stefano Cosazza (Kosaça), duke of S. Saba, 11 November, 1455, and the grant is found in the *Commemoriali*, lib. XIV, c. 173. The Giovanni named in the contract was no doubt the last duke obliged to flee from his own dominions by the invasions of the Turks about 1480, and became a Venetian. For his maintenance the Signoria probably gave him a *condotta in bianco*, or pension, as was sometimes done. [Cf. *Regesti Commemoriali*, lib. XV, n. 43.] The Cosazza family became extinct in the XVII century. The Conti were one of the noble families of Padua, of Lombard origin, who were Counts of Padua in the XI century, and from this title they took their family name. They are said to have common origin with the Conti of Vicenza, from whom the Grimani are descended. In fact, the arms of the two families are analogous. [Cf. verbum *Conti* in the *Blasone vicentino* by Rumor (*Miscellanea della Dep.^ne di Storia patria*, Sez. II, V, 64).]

contrato, et lui miser Bonifatio promette acceptarla per sua legitima sposa e mogliere. E per dote de la predita M.ca M.a Beatrice dicti Illustre Signor Zuanne, per suo nome proprio e de la predicta Illustre M.a Malgarita, obligando l'un per l'altro in solidum e loro e tuti gli suo beni presenti e futuri, promette dar et cum effecto pagar al predicto Magnifico miser Bernardino Conte ducati treamillia d'oro, zoe 3000; in questo modo: zoe ducati cinquecento contadi al presente, e vestir oltra questi la predicta Magnifica M.a Beatrice come hano parlato insieme, si de vestimenti come de zoggie etc. El residuo da dicti ducati cinquecento e quelli che se spenderano in vestir dicta Magnifica M.a ut supra in suxo, sua signoria promette per i nomi predicti darli cum effetto al predicto M.co mis. Bernardin da mo a mexi dui prosimi che hano a venir. Et is Anzolo di Alesandri citadin de Venetia ho scrito questo de mia propria man a dì e millesimo soprascripto de volunta de le predicte parte le qual se sotoscriverano di sua propria mano. Laus Deo.

Io Margarita de Marchano predita son contenta e prometo quanto e como è soprascricto, de mia man propria.

Io Joane Cosaza predicto son contento e prometto quanto e stato scrito et come et soprascripto et de mia man propria ò soto scripto.

Io Bernardin Conte per nome mio et de Bonifacio mio fiol son contento et prometo quanto et come è soprascripto, et de mia man propria ho sotoscripto.

Hieronymus Quirino aduocator ss.

Antonius Justinianus advocator ss.

Prezentatus die XX novembris 1505.

Andreas Paris
notarius officij ss.

Between the note of appearance and the text of the contract is found the following addition:

Die X februarii 1505 [m. v.]. Jurauerunt etiam utrumque Comes Bernardinus et Mag.ca D.a Margharita infrascripti coram M. D. Hieronymo Quirino et Antonio Justiniano doct., honorandis aduocatoribus communis.

(*Venezia Arch. di Stato — Avogaria del Comun, "Contratti di Nozze" — Misti, reg. I, c. I.*).

II.

Contracts between Native Citizens.

Die VIII aprilis 1506.

Comparuerunt officio coram Magnificis Dominis Advocatoribus comunis Ventura de Camal mediator infra scriptarum nuptiarum, ser Jacobus aromatarius ad insigne pomi auri et circumspectus ser Alberthus Tedaldini ducalis secretarius infranominati, et presentaverunt infrascriptum contractum, et in omnibus et per omnia juxta formam legis.

Iesus. 1506, adi 4 april. In Venetia.

Nel nome de la Divina Trinità, Padre e Fiolo e Spirito Sancto, e de la

gloriosa Verzene Maria sua madre e de tuti li sancti. Questo contrato praticado et concluso per mi Ventura da Camal mezan tra miser Piero di Ramberti de miser Jacomo dal pomo d'oro da una parte; et madona Helena fiola che fo del quondam spetabele miser Chimento Thealdini secretario de la Ill.ma Signoria de Venetia da l'altra parte, in questo modo, zoè Chel dicto miser Piero tuol et accepta per legitima spoxa e moier la sopradita M.a Helena come comanda Dio e la Sancta Madre Giexia, cum modi e condition qui soto scripti. Et prima promete miser Alberto Thealdini fradello de la sopradita madona Helena sua sorella per dota e per nome de dota de la dicta sua sorella al sopradicto miser Piero ducati trexento d'oro, tochado li averà la man, e ducati trexento d'oro da poi transducta la dicta madona Helena. Item promette el sopradito miser Alberto al sopradito miser Piero duc. 100 al officio del sal del 1491, i qualli promete farli scriver a ogni bon piacer e voler del dicto miser Piero. Item promette el sopradito miser Alberto al sopradito miser Piero una vestidura de veludo cremesin in do pelli [pezzi?], una investidura de raxo verde, un investidura de damaschin cremexin, una investidura de raxo bianco, e molte altre cosse per ornamento de la dicta madona Helena. Le qual sono nuove per valuta de ducati trexento, zoè trexento, le qual debiano esser stimade per doy comuni amici. La qual tuta dota ascenderà a la summa de ducati mille zoè 1000. Dechiarando chel sopradito miser Alberto fradello de la sopradita M.a Helena promette e si obliga tutti i soi beni mobelli e stabelli, presenti e futuri al sopradito miser Piero fina a la integra satisfaction de li sopradicti ducati mille. Dechiarando che miser Jacomo padre del sopradito miser Piero, e miser Piero insieme cum suo padre tuol assegurar, e cussì asegurano la sopradita dota chadaun de loro in parte e in tuto per ducati 800, zoè octocento sopra tuti i soi beni mobelli e stabelli, presenti e futuri. E li sopraditi duc. 200 che ascendono a la summa de i ducati mille romagnano al sopradito miser Piero per don e corieri. E cussi le soprascripte parte sottoscriverano esser contente di quanto è soprascripto in questo contrato. Che Dio e la sua gloriosa madre Verzene Maria li lassi viver longamente sopra la terra in sanità, alegreza e consolation de le anime e de corpi. Amen.

Io Jacomo Ramberti spicier al pomo d'oro son contento di quanto è soprascripto.

Io Albertho Thedaldini ducal secretario q. miser Chimento son contento de quanto è soprascripto.

Io Piero Ramberti de miser Jacomo son contento quanto è sopra scrito

Franciscus Aurio ss.

Hieronymus Quirinus Advocator ss.

Die VIII aprilis 1506

Presentatus officio Advocariae.

Andres Paris notarius officii.

(*Venezia, Arch. di Stato — Avogaria del Comun "Contratti di Nozze" — Misti, reg. I, c. 6 t. o*).

III.

Contracts between Citizens having no Legal Rights before the Uffici di Cancelleria.[1]

Laus Deo, adi 4 Agosto 1582 — In Venetia.

Si dichiara per la presente scrittura come al giorno de hoggi si ha concluso vero, et legitimo matrimonio fra il magnifico Signor Dionisio Boldi fu dell'Eccellente Signor Bortolomio et la magnifica Signora Cattherina fo figlia del magnifico Messer Anzolo Bertochi con li patti infrascritti. La dote veramente e la facultà che essa magnifica Signora Cattarina si trova haver sono le cose infrascrite, le qual ghe le da liberamente per dota.

Una casa in contrà de San Simeon grando la qual al presente è voda solita affitarsi ducati 28. Item un'altra casa sta domina Angelica Formenti paga de affitto ducati 15. Item un'altra casa sta domina Margarita vedova paga de affitto ducati 10. Item un'altra casa sta Nicolo Manin paga de affitto ducati 21. Un'altra casetta sta domina Giulia vedoa paga de affitto ducati 6 si mette per ducati 2400. Item cavedal de monte novissimo sussidio, et cecha ducati 1050.

Ittem robbe per suo uso per ducati 50, sono in tutto ducati tremille, et cinquecento.

Et in caso de restitution de dotte della novizza habbia a perder il terzo, se sia guadagnato per il sposo, over da suoi heredi.

Se ha da pagar a cinque moneghe alli Anzoli da Muran ducati 60 ogni anno finchè le vive, cioè a Suor Gabriela ducati 15, a Suor Innocentia ducati 15, a Suor Eufrasia ducati 10, a Suor Concordia ducati 10, a Suor Pacifica ducati 10.

Se da libertà al detto magnifico Signor Dionisio di vender essi stabeli dummodo li danari siano investiti in possession livelli, o stabeli per segurtà della ditta dote. Et io Antonio Buora ho concluso le soprascritte notte a die, millesimo soprascritto, et ho scritto de volontà delle parti.

Io Ettor di Franceschi fui presente, et sottoscrissi per nome della soprascritta magnfica madona Cattarina per non saper scriver.

Io Mattia Sabadino fui presente a quanto di sopra si contien.

Et io Dionisio Boldi contento a quanto è di sopra scritto.

1601, die 5 Octobris presentata in officio Advocatorum comunis per dominum Jacobum Berlendi nomine de Catherini filia q. de. Angeli Bertocchi, suprascripi.

(*Venezia, Arch. di Stato — Avogaria del Comun — Registro 88, carte 232*).

[1] The index of approbation of *cittadinanza originaria per uffici di Cancelleria* (*Segretari*) begins with the year 1560. This contract of later date is therefore chosen because it is certain that the names of the families do not appear therein.

E — SLAVERY.

Contract for the Purchase of Slaves.

1588 a di 3 Giugno in Venetia.

Havendo rissoluto Messer Gio: Ambrosio Benedetti del Mag.co Andrea andare in le parti di Segna, et luoghi circonvicini del Ser.mo Arciduca Carlo d'Austria per compra de schiavi a compagnia con messer Gio: Andrea Dernice del q.m Mag.co Antonio, si dichiara per la presente, che detto Benedetti ha ricevuto in contanti dal detto Gio: Andrea ducatti quattrocento correnti moneta di Venetia per doverli impiegare insieme con altanta somma sua propria in detta compera de schiavi di nation Turca quali havrà a far condurre o condurre a spese commune in Genoa dove ne farà vendita a quel maggior pretio si potrà. Dichiarandosi, che tutti doi si contentano correr un istesso risico di tutte quelle disgratie potesseno per qualsivoglia modo occorrere a detti schiavi, ne la compra de quali detto Gio: Andrea si contenta, et resta soddisfatto, che detto Gio: Ambrosio si governi nel modo, che meglio a lui parerà si nel pretio loro come nel condurli per mare, o per terra in tutti quelli luoghi saranno da lui giudicati più cauti, et sicuri. All'incontro detto Gio: Ambrogio se obliga dar buono, et real conto a detto Gio: Andrea di detti ducatti quattrocento si come delli utili di essi tanto qua in Venetia, come in ogni altro luogo del Mondo, volendo di pari volontà che questa scrittura abbi quel vigore, come se fosse instrumento rogato per mano di notaro pubblico renonciando l'uno all'altro, et l'altro all'uno tutte quelle ragioni che a fare quanto sopra si contiene potessero addur in contrario. Volendo che questo negotio segua con ogni amore et carità come se fra dui fradelli seguisse et non altramente. In fede di che s'è fatta la presente quale insieme con un altra simile saranno sottoscritte per mano di sudetti Gio: Ambrogio, et Gio: Andrea in presentia delli infrascritti testimonij in Venetia il sud° giorno, mese, et anno.

Io Gio: Amb.° Benedetti affermo e prometto quanto sopra di mia man propria.

Io Gio: Andrea Dernice prometto e mi obbigo quanto sopra di mia man propria.

Io Giovanni Cristofori presente alla sottoscrittione di questa.

Io Paolo Ger. Galliano fui presente alla sottoscrittione di questa.

(*Venezia, Archivio di Stato — Miscellanea Gregolin — Carte private sec. XV–XVIII, b. 49 (Scal.-Sis.)*).

Note. — Other records with contracts between the same parties, relating to slaves, are found in *Miscellanea di Atti Diversi Manoscritti filza 134, fasc. 6*).

MEMORANDA OF EXPENDITURES.

1588 a 19 Giugno in Fiume.

Compra de Schiavi a Compagnia con Giovanni Andrea Dernice, deve per spese fatte da 11 stante, da Venetia sin qua in barca vitto e cavali et altro	L.	73	8
E a 21 detto per costo dei 24 sacheti per le cadene . . .	"	28	—
E a 26 detto per vitto e camera da 19 alla sera	"	32	—
E a 27 d° in Segna per Barca e vitto da Fiume sin qua .	"	16	10
E a detto e fu a 18 in Trieste per costo de 12 colari et altante (altre tante) manete a L. 5. 5 per paro . .	"	63	—
E per costo de 21 pezo di cadena a soldi 30	"	31	10
E per porto di detta feramenta a Cavalo	"	9	—
E a 25 d° per datti al Canceliero per le feddi della Compra delli Schiavi	"	21	—
E per pagati al Carceriero per sua mercede	"	26	—
E per spese de vitto tanto nostre come delli schiavi da 27 passatto sino ad hoggi	"	234	—
E a 26 luglio in Fiume per barca e spesa de vitto tanto de schiavi como delli homini di guardia	"	30	—
haverà la soma del presente conto che avanti si tira . .	"	3919	12
E a 26 luglio e fu prima per costo de 13 schiavi et una schiava, compri, cioè 7 a ducati 40, cinque a ducati 35, uno a ducati 25 et un altro garzoneto per ducati 14 tutti da L. 6 che in soma sono ducati 494 da L. 6	"	2964	—
E a d° e fu a 25 in Segna per fitto della stantia dove alogiavamo con doi letti	"	24	—
E a 29 d° in Trieste per spesa de vitto da 26 alla sera in Fiume como anco per strada cavalcature, tanto per conto nostro como per li schiavi e da 5 homini tolti per guardia et altro	"	92	—
E per pagati a 5 soldati tolti per guardia sino a Segna a L. 12 per uno	"	60	—
E a 29 alla sera per vitto da 28 alla sera con schiavi et altri con due comere	"	21	8
E per dati al Cavalero per aprire le porte	"	1	—
E per pan, vin et altro per barca	"	10	4
E per ducati 28 per suo nolo a Giovanni Siadena sino a Goro L. 64	"	173	12
L. 3919.12			

Adì 31 Luglio in Venetia

Compra de schiavi a Compagni como adietro deve per la somma del conto a dietro scritto	L.	3919 12
E a 3 agosto in Goro per spesa ho fatto da Trieste per la via de Venetia in barche e vitto	"	27 —
E a 4 d.° per spese fatte bone a Giovanni Mazorolo o sia Antonio suo figlio per il vitto de schiavi et altri . .	"	37 14
E a 6 d° a Ponte de Lago scuro per caroze da Francolino in Ferrara sino in d.° loco	"	9 —
E a 8 d. in Brecelles per barca da Goro in d.° loco Duc. 20 da L. 7	"	140 —
E per spesa de vitto sino in d.° loco	"	28 —
E a 13 d.° in Genoa per spese de vitto cavalli nollo de fregata da Sestri, transiti ed altro da Breceles sin qua in Genoa duc. 20 da l. 7	"	140 —
E a 5 settembre per spesa de vitto de schiavi da 13 passatto a L. 3 10 moneta di Genoa il dì L. 48 D. 21 da L. 7 10 moneta d'Venetia	"	157 10
E per L. 115 di Genoa per il datio de 12 schiavi estimati D. 50 l'uno a 5 p. c° D. 28 ¾ a L. 7 10	"	215 12 ½
Haverè in ritrato de una schiaveta et un schiaveto venduti a Pietro Ant° Giesia per D. 122 ½ da L. 4 di Genova che a L. 7 10 d'Venetia sono	"	918 15
E in ritrato de 12 schiavi venduti al S.r Allessandro Cigalla a D. 65 d'oro in oro l'uno, che sono L. 3295 10 di Genoa e fano D. 823 ¾ da L. 4 che contati a L. 7 10 per ducato moneta de Venetia	"	6179 —
E in scossi per la spesa delle 2 schiavete e 2 balle del S.r Furio Molza	"	30 —
E in ritratto de ferramenta da vendersi lassata in Genoa .	"	— —
	L.	7127 15

L. 7127 15

E a 5 settembre in Genoa per D. 10 datti a Gio. Battista Valdetaro per la ½ del avanso del garsone che serve per il suo salario da L. 7 10	L.	75 —
E per datti a uno crovato tolto per interpetre e guardia de schiavi D. 4 da L. 7 10	"	30 —
E per sensaria D. 5 da L. 7 10	"	37 10
E a 18 d.° in Venetia per spesi da Genoa qua con mio cugnato D. 15 da L. 7 10	"	112 10

Adì 24 Luglio in Segna

Biassio Stambachi de Lexena deve per Ducati 150 da L. 6, li ho lasciato per far compra de schiavi turchi che alla giornata anderanno capitando in tutto como per il Contrato apare rogato per mano de messer Gerolamo d'Argento Canceliero	L. 900 —
Haverè in ritrato delli 14 schiavi e L. 30 scosse per la spesa fatta per il Sr Furio Molza	" 7127 15

(*Venezia, Arch. di Stato — Miscellanea di Atti Diversi Manoscritti, filza 134, fasc. 7*).

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